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MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN

SAINTS AND MIRACLES.

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PREFACE.

MANY American Protestants are inclined to look with favor, or at least with indulgence, on the pretensions of Catholicism; and not a few have been persuaded to exchange the Scriptural faith and the simple ritual of their fathers for the traditions, the dogmas, and the gaudy material worship of the Romish Church. The writer believes that such persons, and indeed the general American public, are very imperfectly informed respecting the actual teachings of modern Romanism, the intellectual, moral, social, and political tendencies of those teachings, and the real aims of the leaders of the party which inspires and controls the policy of the Vatican. Romish proselytism is dexterous in adapting itself to the varied mental and spiritual conditions of its pupils. Its pulpit and its printed manuals are not its only, or even its most efficient, instruments. Its individual private appeals, whether from lay or ecclesiastical agents, and especially its *schools*, are most powerful in misleading the weak, the wavering, and the young; and the *secret* lessons of the confessional are an ir-

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resistible means of confirming and strengthening the but half-converted neophyte. It distorts the truth by silent suppression, by artful equivocation, and not rarely by unscrupulous denial of damaging fact, which its ministers know the objector has not at hand the means of establishing. The evidence respecting the real doctrines and history of the Romish Church is often to be found only in voluminous collections rare in Protestant countries, or in works existing only in foreign languages, and hence altogether inaccessible to the general reader; and the inquirer is constantly baffled by the want of sufficient evidence to meet the bold denial or affirmation of the propagandist on his own ground.

The writer thinks he will render a service to the cause of truth by laying before the public, in a popular form, facts not familiarly known to American and English readers, but which have an important bearing on the claims to universal spiritual and temporal dominion expressly or virtually advanced by Rome. He has been careful to draw his statements and illustrations from sources undeniably trustworthy, and, in nearly all cases, recognized by the Church itself as authoritative. The Latin documents in the Appendix are for the use of ecclesiastical students.

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MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN SAINTS AND MIRACLES.

I.

FROM THE PATRISTIC TO THE JESUIT AGE.

The ancient book of legends entitled "Vitæ Patrum, sive Historiæ Eremeticæ," is characterized by Mr. Lecky, in a note to the fourth chapter of his "History of European Morals," as an "invaluable collection," and as "one of the most fascinating volumes in the whole range of literature."

The "Vitæ Patrum" is the most ancient, the most attractive, and the most important, though not the most voluminous, work of Christian legendary lore. It has probably had a wider circulation than any other monument of saintly history; and during the ages which elapsed from the period when its materials were first gathered until near the close of the thirteenth century—when the "Legenda Aurea," a very inferior compilation, at least partially superseded it—

the "Vitæ Patrum" was the chief source of information, in all European countries, respecting the mythic and heroic ages of the Christian Church.

We say the *mythic* and *heroic* ages of the Church, because the genuine hagiological annals of the early post-apostolic centuries are plainly distinguishable, in literary and critical character, both from the accounts of the origin and founding of Christianity contained in the Gospels and the Acts, and from the fabulous lives of hermits, martyrs, saints, and religious wonder-workers fabricated or remodeled at later dates, and especially since the invention of printing and the consequent birth and diffusion of—what had not previously existed in Europe—a truly popular written literature. The Gospels and the Acts, whether rightly ascribed to the apostles and the primitive disciples or not, and whatever opinion may be adopted as to the truth of their details and the critical ability of their writers, are, both in conception and in execution, in a strict sense documents of *historical* literature. The lives and acts of the Christian thaumaturgists of the five or six succeeding centuries were often simply dreams of crazy enthusiasm and wild superstition; but when composed with a conscious purpose, they were designed, not, like the Gospels, for general circulation or for the conversion of the people, but for

the instruction and edification of the professional priesthood. They were, in short, what were technically called "legends," that is, writings intended and appointed to be read publicly and privately by the regular clergy. The term "legend"—the Latin gerundial *legendum*—or *lectio*, originally embraced a considerable part of the ordinary church service, but in common use it was afterward restricted to narratives of the lives and miracles of saints and martyrs, which, as well as ascetic treatises, were read aloud to monks and nuns when assembled for instruction, more especially during the hour of refection; and they were also much used in private study in the monastic cells.

The earliest of these biographies of holy men are, in general, narratives of events reported to the writers on testimony which they accepted as credible, and there is seldom much room for doubting the good faith and sincerity of the authors. In very many instances, too, there are no good grounds for questioning the truth of the leading biographical data; and the legends often incidentally furnish valuable hints in regard to the times of the writers, if not of the heroes, of the tale, and, therefore, cautiously used, are a not unimportant source of historical illustration. Christianity was first received by a large

proportion of its votaries, not simply because it approved itself to the conscience, the heart, and the intellect of man, but "for the very works' sake;" and this was more emphatically the case in the ages of inferior culture which followed the decay and downfall of the Roman empire. Hence, as would naturally be supposed, the legends of this latter period, even when founded on a basis of fact, scarcely address any faculty but the imagination; they almost universally exhibit a craving appetite for the marvelous and the supernatural, and a devout, unhesitating, and uncritical credulity, which clothe with a mythic coloring the scenery of the events described, and give to all but the frame of the picture—to all, in fact, which the writers and their contemporaries regarded as the real substance and marrow of the work—the character of a purely imaginative creation.

The stock of ancient traditions, and of other sources of information regarded as authoritative, was not inexhaustible; and when the material at hand had been worked up, and grown trite and familiar, the monks began to borrow and remold themes from pagan mythologies, and to compose imaginary Christian histories of like character, at first, probably, not with intent to deceive, but simply as literary exercitations, and as an employment for the vacant hours of claus-

tral life.* These narratives embody the monkish ideal of the religious, as distinguished from the secular, virtues. The types of their heroes and heroines seem to have been suggested by the personal experiences and aspirations of the writers, and the principal personages of the drama almost uniformly begin or end by martyrdom or monastic profession. The mediæval legends, at whatever period the supposed scene may have been laid, were all more or less stamped with the character and costume of their own age and with the *couleur locale* of the country of their composition, a circumstance which rendered them especially acceptable as well as credible to the contemporary world, and secured to them both a wide circulation and afterward a gradual recognition by the faithful, and often by the dignitaries of the Church, as authentic records. But the spirit of criticism born with the revival of learning soon detected the unhistorical character of these compositions, exposed their anachronisms, their inconsistencies, and their improb-

* In speaking of the early fabulous legends of the Romish Church as often not intended to deceive, we refer to those composed before the forging of papal decrees and of grants of lands and wills in favor of the Church became a regular branch of monastic industry. When counterfeiting such documents had grown into an art, the invention of false miracles and biographies would naturally be practiced without scruple. See Appendix I.

abilities, and the term "legend" became at last almost synonymous with "fable."*

The modern legends of Catholicism, or those composed or recast from old material after the joint influence of the invention of printing and of the Ref-

* For a highly instructive critical examination of the origin and composition of the mediæval legends, see Alfred Maury, "Les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age." We can not indeed adopt all the opinions of the learned author, but we know not where to look for a sounder and more philosophical view of the subject than this essay presents. It is eminently calculated to produce conviction in the minds of cultivated and candid Catholics, and is therefore regarded by the Church as a very dangerous book. Judicious measures have been taken for its suppression, and, though published so lately as 1843, it is now a very rare volume.

Residents in Northern New York will remember the burning of a large number of Protestant French Bibles by Canadian priests some years ago. The London *Times* of December 9th, 1875, contains the following account of the destruction of some of Gasparin's works by a zealous Catholic librarian in France:

"Ultramontanes seem to have still a hankering for the *auto-da-fé*. Madame Gasparin, the well-known Protestant writer, having presented a copy of her late husband's work, "Les Écoles du Doute et les Écoles de la Foi," to the popular library of Boussenois, in the Côte d'Or, has received the following extraordinary letter from its director, M. de Geroal:

"'We can not thank you too much on this occasion. M. de Gasparin's works and those of the Franklin Press are most useful to us. This very morning we made the finest fire ever seen with all these works. How pleasant, now the mornings are chilly, to warm one's fingers with M. de Gasparin's books! They burn splendidly. Once more thanks, madame. Geneva paper, especially M. de Gasparin's, has done us a great service, and we hope to warm ourselves again with his books. Meanwhile, pray accept our warmest compliments.'"

ormation had created a reading public, have been framed, not for the general purpose of spiritual instruction, but in a spirit of distinct and conscious religious partisanship, with the special object of serving as instruments of Romish propagandism, and their tone has been accommodated to the low moral and intellectual level of the classes for which they are intended.

The "Vitæ Patrum" is not now a common book; and probably no inconsiderable proportion of the reading public in England and in the United States owes its first and only knowledge of the volume so highly commended by Mr. Lecky to the use which that very able writer has made of it in the admirable history above quoted. The Jesuit Rosweyde, to whom we owe the *editio optima* of the "Vitæ Patrum," was the most efficient instrument of his order in the revival of hagiological literature, and some of his writings are still cited as authoritative on matters connected with the studies to which he devoted himself. Hence we presume that a brief account of his life and labors, as well as of the volume just mentioned and of others similar in character, will be not without interest in connection with some observations suggested by the efforts now making by the Society of Jesuits in many parts of Christendom, not only to

restore the miracles, the martyrs, and the saints of the early and mediæval Church to their old position as objects of faith and veneration, but to propagate the belief in new saints and contemporary miracles, and especially to give to the worship of the creature a still higher expression in what it is not extravagant or unjust to call the deification of the Virgin Mary.

We think it right to premise, in this place, that we have no intention of running a tilt against Catholicism as the religion of morally and intellectually enlightened men and women in the countries where it prevails. Our quarrel is with Romanism, as another name for Jesuitism, which is not a religion, in any good sense of the word, but a polity. We will not even go so far as, with most of our co-religionists, to claim for Protestants a moral superiority over Catholics of the same degree of intellect and culture. Long residence in Catholic countries, under circumstances which have brought us daily, hourly, into free communication with Catholics of all ranks, has taught us that the common Protestant estimate of such Catholicism as we speak of is unjust; and we have no hesitation in saying that we find among zealous Catholics, and in every social condition, not excluding even the priesthood, examples of piety, truth, honor, charity, benevolence, every moral virtue, in short, as brill-

iant as any which experience has made known to us in Protestant lands. Nor do we limit this remark to the scholastically instructed classes. The children of the poor, under favorable circumstances, often receive a domestic training which supplies the place of the moral lessons elsewhere imparted in connection with more formal teaching; and candid foreigners who have resided in the continental countries of Europe generally admit that their Catholic household servants, and the mechanics and shop-keepers they deal with, are as faithful and as honest as the same class of persons in England and in the United States. At the same time, we are very far from believing that any form of Catholicism is as favorable as Protestantism to the development of the best qualities of the head and the heart. Catholicism as it is, and, so long as the fundamental organization of the Church of Rome continues to exist, will be actually administered, is hostile to the moral and the intellectual culture, and of course to the social progress, of man. Hence, though many Catholics emancipate themselves from ecclesiastical shackles, and rise to as high excellence as is anywhere attainable by humanity, yet the proportion of such is smaller than in Protestant peoples; and, taking the whole population together, the average moral standard, like the average standard of knowl-

edge, is much lower in France, Spain, Italy, than among the Protestants of Germany, England, and the United States. The fact that the truly virtuous and enlightened form a relatively less numerous body in Catholic than in Protestant countries, acts unfavorably on the character of the individual members of that body, because there is not among them the *esprit de corps* of a consciously strong society, and public opinion is far less severe and efficacious in the condemnation and repression of departures from the strict rules of morality. Hence they want the wholesome restraints which a larger proportion of men of sound principles and exemplary lives would impose upon them, and consequently the dissuasives from the indulgence of vicious propensities are less powerful. This state of things has given rise to what to unprejudiced foreigners is one of the most painful features of the society we refer to. We mean the want of mutual trust and confidence among even men and women of good reputation, which betrays itself every hour to the stranger who has become sufficiently familiar with social life to be a competent observer. There is one phase of social life in which the Catholic nations, at least those of Southern Europe, are greatly superior to us of the Germanic and Anglo-Norman races, and which has a much higher ethical

importance than we usually ascribe to it. We mean what have been happily called "the minor morals," the urbanities and amenities of mutual intercourse, which powerfully tend not only to bring out kindly feeling in response, but really to promote it in those who habitually practice the civilities, the courteous regard for the sensibilities and the self-respect of others, so characteristic of the Latin nations, and which contrast so strongly with the bluff, if not brutal, address of the Englishman, the offensive self-sufficiency of the German, and the rude self-assertion of the American.

Whether freethinkers, or those who reject altogether what is called, with a wide latitude of meaning, revealed religion, are proportionally more numerous in Catholic than in Protestant countries, it is hard to say. We incline to the affirmative of the proposition; but in any case it is certain that the number of professedly adhering and believing Catholics who utterly reject the exclusive pretensions of Rome, and in fact every thing specially characteristic of the Rome of Pius IX., is very large. In general, Protestantism is grossly misunderstood in Catholic countries, both as to what it affirms and what it denies; and many a *soi-disant* Catholic is as essentially a Protestant as was Luther himself, without ever suspecting it. The

name of Protestant is a bugbear, and, besides, however strong may be the antipathies of a Catholic to the present government and principles of the Romish Church, there are, as will be readily obvious to every thinking man, many considerations which operate with great force to deter serious-minded persons from openly separating from the communion to which they and their fathers have immemorially belonged, and which is connected by a vast multitude of ties with all their social, all their political, institutions.* Add to this a want of moral courage, a defect which we believe to be more common among Catholics than among Protestants, and it is not strange that Old Catholics and other open seceders from Rome are few in France, in Italy, and in Spain, though there is a large, and, we hope, constantly increasing number of really "reformed" members of the Church of Rome who detest her intolerance, who have no respect for the dogma of papal infallibility, who do not worship the Virgin Mary as one of the persons of the Godhead, who do not govern their lives by the ethical principles of De' Liguori, nor choose spiritual counselors for their wives and daughters among priests who follow the detestable rules laid down for

* See Appendix II.

their governance by that newly promoted Doctor of the Universal Church, in his "Manual for Confessors."

But to return to Rosweyde. Heribert Rosweyde was born at Utrecht in 1569, and grew up under the influence of the violent passions excited by the religious and political contest of that age between the Netherlands and Spain. He became in early youth a member of the society of Loyola, and was permitted and encouraged to devote his life to the study of ecclesiastical literature, and to the propagation of Jesuit views of the facts and principles which constituted the history and inspired the government of the Church in the centuries immediately following its general recognition as the organized and visible representative of Christianity. On the acceptance and dissemination of these views the Jesuits rested their anticipations of a restoration of the political and religious power of the mediæval priesthood, then rudely shaken by the assaults of the Reformers, and especially their ambitious hopes of the virtual supremacy of their own fraternity as at once the guiding influence and the most efficient organ, the brain and the hand, of the papacy. If, after many rebuffs and many crushing defeats, they have at length, under the pontificate of the weak and willful Pius IX., well-nigh realized their most daring aspirations, their tri-

umph is, in no small degree, due to a class of laborers of whom Rosweyde is a favorable type.

Rosweyde published at Antwerp, where his life was chiefly spent, numerous laboriously edited works by other writers, in Latin and in Flemish, besides various critical and controversial treatises of his own, which display no inconsiderable amount of learning and ability. It must be added, to his credit as a probably sincere and honest, if often mistaken, man, that, with a few exceptions of a certain importance, his writings exhibit at least a semblance of candor and fairness too often wanting in the literature of religious narrative, dogma, and discussion. Among the works of older authors published by Rosweyde, the most conspicuous are two editions of the "Vitæ Patrum" in Latin, and several in Flemish; a Flemish translation of the "Flos Sanctorum" of the Spanish Jesuit Ribadineira; the "Silva Eremitarum Ægypti et Palestinæ;" and the "Vitæ Sanctarum Virginum." All these, as would be inferred from their titles, cover to some extent the same ground, and they may be regarded as essays toward the execution of a plan projected by Rosweyde, and afterward carried out on a stupendous scale by the Bollandists; for a general collection of the "Acta Sanctorum," or biographies of the holy men and women

recognized by the Romish Church as endowed with special sanctity, and entitled to the veneration of the faithful.

Of greater general interest, though of much more limited circulation than the works we have already mentioned, is John Busch's "Chronicle of the Augustinian Monastery," or rather "Cœnobium" of Windesheim—so important from its relations with the "Fratres Communis Vitæ" organized by Groote*—the only known manuscript of which chronicle was rescued from destruction and published by Rosweyde; and the excellent service he thereby rendered to the history of mediæval culture ought not to be passed over in silence.

Most of Rosweyde's original works have been superseded by later productions, or are devoted to the discussion of questions which in our day have comparatively little actual living interest, and are therefore forgotten. His "Vindiciæ Kempenses," however, is still quoted as an able argument in support of the claims of Thomas à Kempis to be regarded as the author of the "Imitatio Christi;" and his "De

* We are not able to refer to any tolerably full account in English of the Brothers of Common Life. Delprat's "Verhandeling over de Broederschap, van G. Groote," second edition, Arnhem, 1856, is the most satisfactory general history of these important communities known to us. See Appendix III.

Fide Hæreticis servandâ," an argument in defense of the burning of John Huss, by sentence of the Council of Constance, notwithstanding the safe-conduct given him by the Emperor Sigismund, deserves special notice, both as an example of dexterous though shallow special pleading, well adapted to the mind and heart of the Catholic world at the period of its publication, and as having a significant bearing on questions of the profoundest importance, both then and now, to the moral, intellectual, and political interests of society.

We do not propose to discuss the history of this *cause célèbre* further than is necessary to make the position of Rosweyde, of the council, of the papacy, and of the Romish Church in regard to it clearly intelligible; but the real knot of the question is involved in his argument on the subject, though Romish sophistry has obscured it by embarrassing it with much irrelevant matter. The true point, then, at issue, and now of extreme interest to us, was not whether the Emperor Sigismund was base enough to betray his plighted faith, not whether a conventicle of ferocious bigots were consigning an innocent man to the flames, but whether the Romish ecclesiastical tribunals have universal jurisdiction to judge, universal power to punish, the crime of heresy, without the consent and

against the will of the civil power, however and wherever constituted. This jurisdiction, this power, as we shall see, the council claimed and the papacy affirmed, and (at least virtually) still affirms, in behalf of the Church of Rome.

Daniel Plancius, rector of the High School at Delft, had accused the Romish Church of teaching practically, if not formally, that Catholics are not bound to keep faith with heretics, and had cited as an authoritative declaration to that effect the decree of the Council of Constance condemning John Huss to death, in violation of the Emperor Sigismund's guarantee of his safety.* The "De Fide Hæreticis servandâ" is a reply to this charge. It denies that the Church ever sanctioned the proposition that faith is not to be kept with heretics, and attempts, with much parade of citation, to prove that it both taught and followed the opposite doctrine; diverts the attention of the reader from the real merits of the question as to the breach of faith implied in the action of the council, by what, under the circumstances, must be

* Singularly enough, Plancius, so far as can be judged from Rosweyde's reply, does not appear to have referred to the famous letters of Pope Innocent III., in which the king and generals of France are instructed that in their warfare against the Albigenses "faith is not to be kept with those who do not keep faith with God." See Gasparin, "Innocent III.," p. 320.

regarded as idle and hardly even specious quibbling about the period of Huss's departure from Prague for Constance, and the date, terms, and effect of the safe-conduct, which, though previously promised, was not actually delivered to Huss until he was on his way to the council; tries, not without success, to show that Huss was rash, intemperate, and inconsistent in his language, and gave unnecessary and indiscreet provocation to the council; and finally tranquilizes the consciences of the faithful, to whom the case of Huss always has been, and still is, a very sore subject;* by showing that the council was duly convoked and organized as ecumenical; that its decrees, having all been sanctioned by the pontifical approval, were, for both these reasons, of divine authority; and, therefore, that its decision on the point at issue determining that heretics (Huss of course included) were amenable to its criminal jurisdiction, *salvo conductu non obstante*, is to be received with implicit submission as a conclusive answer to all objections.

It must here be observed that the decision of the council did not in the least turn on the legal con-

* For a curious and instructive account of the suppression, perversion, and falsification of the truth respecting Huss by the Austrian censorship of the press, in comparatively recent times, see an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for October, 1875, entitled "How History is sometimes Written."

struction and force of the safe-conduct, which Rosweyde, writing two hundred years later, impeaches as not broad enough in its guarantees to cover the case. But this point was not taken by the council, nor does it appear to have been even raised in the discussions. It was assumed on all hands, as was undoubtedly the fact, that the safe-conduct was meant to secure Huss from all molestation by any authority whatever, lay or ecclesiastical, *eundo, morando et redeundo*, and the council based its jurisdiction on the ground that the emperor or other civil authorities could not exempt heretics from ecclesiastical cognizance, because the ecclesiastical was in all things supreme over the lay power. The safe-conduct was rejected, not as limited in intent and legal construction, or as inapplicable to the case, but as proceeding from an inferior and incompetent authority, having no jurisdiction of the matter, as derogatory to the higher dignity and prerogatives of a judicature which represented God on earth, and as therefore null and void from the beginning. The terms of the judgment, as expressed in the nineteenth canon of the council, are thus given by Rosweyde, "De Fide Hæreticis servandâ," p. 3: "Præsens sancta Synodus ex quovis salvo conductu per Imperatorem, et alios sæculi Principes, hæreticis vel de hæresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem

sic a suis erroribus revocare, *quocumque vinculo se adstrinxerint*, concesso, nullum fidei Catholicæ, vel jurisdictioni Ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari, vel impedimentum præstari, posse seu debere, declarat; quo minus, dicto salvo conductu non obstante; liceat judici competenti et Ecclesiastico, de hujusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere et aliàs contra eos debitè procedere eosdemque *punire*, quantum justitia suadebit, si suos errores revocare pertinaciter recusaverint: etiamsi de salvo conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii, aliàs non venturi: nec sic promittentem, cum aliàs fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquâ remansisse obligatum."*

* "The present holy council declares that no prejudice to the Catholic faith, no impediment to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, can or ought to be created by *any* safe-conduct granted by the emperor or other secular princes, *under whatever pledges*, to heretics or persons charged with heresy, in the hope of reclaiming them from their errors, so that it should not be lawful for the competent ecclesiastical judge, notwithstanding such safe-conduct, to inquire into the errors of such persons, and otherwise duly proceed against them, and *punish* them, as justice shall require, provided they pertinaciously refuse to retract their errors, even though they may have come to the place of trial upon the faith of such safe-conduct, when they would not have come otherwise; nor is the grantor [of such safe-conduct], when in other respects he has done what in him lay, in any manner bound thereby."

From the tenor of this canon, it is evident that the terms and conditions of the safe-conduct were regarded by the council as wholly immaterial, and that no additional pledges by the emperor could have given it greater force or extension, the emperor having no au-

It is evident that this canon, which does not mention Huss by name, or refer in terms to the safe-conduct granted him by Sigismund, was intended as a general declaration of principle applicable to all like cases. It claims for the Church universal cognizance of questions of heresy and supreme authority to inquire into and punish that crime, and it treats as nullities all acts and ordinances of the civil power in any way conflicting with the exercise of this its exclusive jurisdiction. Sigismund, in a speech addressed to Huss at a session of the council, in which he pro-

thority whatever in the case. It is important to notice that the council claims power not only to try, but to *punish*, heretics, and therefore the pretense that it is not the Church, but the "secular arm," which sheds their blood is a mere subterfuge. The Church employs lay hangmen and stokers, indeed, but it is her decree which authorizes them to take the life of the victim. And, besides, the tortures of the Inquisition were inflicted in her dungeons and by her "familiars," not in the prisons or by the jailers of the State. Protestant writers, in a weak spirit of indulgent candor, have gone much beyond the truth in treating the Inquisition as often a political, rather than an ecclesiastical, engine. Doubtless, in some cases, the Church lent or sold her thunders, her racks, and her fagots to political persecutors; but the most that can be said in her defense is, that in such cases she was the accessory, not the principal, in the crime. There is no serious pretense that lay sovereigns ever *compelled* the Church to aid in the execution of their vengeances, though no doubt they may have found her a willing instrument of their own wickedness. The Church delivers the condemned heretic to the "secular arm" for execution by fire and fagot just as "the chief priests and elders of the people" delivered Jesus to Pontius Pilate, and he to the soldiers, "to be crucified." See Appendix IV.

fessed himself ready to kindle the avenging fire with his own hand if the reformer refused to retract his errors, had insisted that the safe-conduct was *functus officio* when Huss had once been allowed to make his defense before that tribunal; but the council descended to no such pettifogging shifts. It founded its decision on its own sovereignty and the consequent invalidity of *all* guarantees *quocumque vinculo*, under *whatever pledges*, from lay, and therefore necessarily both inferior and incompetent, authorities.

This and most, if not all, of the other decrees of the council were formally sanctioned by Popes Martin V.* and Eugenius, both of whom, as members of the council before their elevation to the pontificate, had voted for the condemnation of Huss. It has never been revoked or disapproved by the Church, but is virtually recognized and confirmed by the papal Encyclica and Syllabus of 1864; and it is therefore a doctrine that all Romanizing Catholics are bound to accept and maintain.

The effrontery with which Rosweyde cites this damning piece of evidence as furnishing, in its last clause, conclusive proof of the *good faith* of the council and the Church is a curiously characteristic specimen of Jesuitical logic.

* See Appendix V.

The peculiar circumstances under which the Council of Constance was convoked gave to its proceedings a unique importance. There were then living three pretenders—Gregory XII., Benedict XIII., and John XIII.—all claiming to have been canonically elected to the papal throne, and all sustained by more or less numerous and influential adherents. It was to decide between the rival claims of these *soi-disant* pontiffs, and thus to heal a schism that had divided the Church for forty years, and, further, to crush the heresy of Huss and his followers, that the council was summoned; and though John, the feeblest and least powerfully supported of the three, assented to the convocation of this body, it really assembled in obedience to the mandate of a lay sovereign, the Emperor Sigismund. With much difficulty, Gregory and John were induced, after the council had been three years in session, to lay down their insignia and resign their pretensions into the hands of the council, and Benedict was formally deposed and excommunicated by it. Pope and antipopes being thus happily disposed of, a conclave, composed of twenty cardinals and thirty bishops, on the 11th of November, 1417, conferred the triple crown on Otto Colonna, a member of their own body, who was then not an ordained priest, but only a sub-deacon. The new and

soon universally recognized pontiff took the name of Martin V. It is worth noting that, though Martin owed his elevation to the assertion of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the council over the papacy in the deposition of Benedict XIII., he thought it prudent to check any further assumption of power on the part of this and future assemblies of the like character; and at the forty-fifth session of that of Constance he promulgated a constitution forbidding appeals from popes to councils, *except in cases of schism*, this being precisely the question in which he was now interested. Rosweyde, though in other parts of his argument often citing the decrees of popes as conclusively binding on the faithful, and even sometimes treating councils as deriving their powers from the sanction of the pope, appears, nevertheless, to have really held that the supreme authority of the Church is vested in ecumenical councils; for his general conclusion is: "Fixum igitur firmumque esto, quod Clerus legitimè congregatus in Œcumenico Consilio statuit, id totius nominis Christiani, id totius Orbis, id totius Christianitatis, id Ecclesiæ universæ, id *Dei* demum esse judicium" (p. 19).*

* "Let it therefore be accepted as definitively settled, that whatever the clergy, lawfully assembled in ecumenical council, decides, *that* is the judgment of the entire Christian name, the judgment of the whole world, the judgment of all Christendom, the judgment of the Universal Church—in fine, the judgment of God himself."

This declaration, with which the opinions of a large proportion of the Catholic clergy undoubtedly then coincided, is, in the present position of that Church, one of the most important propositions in Rosweyde's work; though his discussions of other points—such, for example, as whether, according to Catholic opinion, the pope can annul all contracts and all oaths, as well his own as those of other persons ("Utrum Pontifex, ex Catholicorum sententiâ, pacta omnia et juramenta, cùm aliorum tùm sua, possit rescindere")*—involve principles fraught with the most momentous consequences. On this particular question the judgment of Rosweyde is, of course, in the affirmative, with the qualification, "Si ita caussæ æquitas flagitet" ("If the justice of the case so requires").† Rosweyde limits the exercise of this pow-

* "Whether the pope, according to Catholic opinion, can annul all contracts and all oaths, whether his own or those of others."

† The papacy maintains, as recently exemplified in Spain, that concordats between the Romish See and political states for the suppression of religious liberty and other purposes are perpetually binding on the lay power, but that the Church may at any time rescind and revoke all stipulations and concessions on its own part. Thus the *Univers* of July 23d and September 25th, 1871, declares that concordats between Rome and civil states are not contracts, but temporary privileges, which the pope deigns to grant according to circumstances, mere concessions of which he always remains the master and sole judge, and which he can consequently revoke at his pleasure. See Michaud, "De l'État présent de l'Église Catholique Romaine en France," p. 74; Paris, 1875.

er, indeed, by what, if the competency of the pope to determine all questions of conscience be admitted, would be, from the Catholic point of view, reasonable restrictions; but his argument is a vicious *petitio principii*, because it assumes the very point in dispute, namely, the jurisdiction of the dicastery, the divine right of the head of the Church to substitute his judgment for the conscience of the party and the decision of ordinary civil tribunals, and to pronounce, as a sovereign magistrate, what the demands of justice are. In fact, according to Rosweyde, and most defenders of the pretensions of Rome at the present time, the papacy is a jurisdiction vested with supreme authority to determine its own limits, and of course having practically no limit at all.* The mere asser-

* In a letter to the London *Times*, dated January 18th, 1875, too long to be given at length in this place, Monsignor Capel quotes, from his own reply to Mr. Gladstone, the following statement:

"The Church, as the representative of the spiritual power, and as the guardian of the divine law,

"*a.* Can define the limits of her own powers, and consequently, *ipso facto*, those of the other powers" [the paternal and the civil].

Like expressions are now constantly employed by the ultramontane press, and especially by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the direction of which has been created a corporation by Pope Pius IX., committed to the Jesuits, and virtually recognized as the official organ of the papacy. Thus the *Civiltà* of March 18th, 1871, p. 664, says: "The pope is a sovereign judge over all civil laws. In him the two authorities, the temporal authority and the spiritual authority, are united, for he is the vicar of Jesus Christ, who was not only the eternal priest, but the

tion of a claim of competency by the papacy, in any supposable case whatever, is of itself a universally binding decision in favor of the validity of such claim. This all-embracing supremacy of the Church is impliedly claimed by the Encyclica and Syllabus of 1864, as well as by numerous bulls and decrees of earlier pontiffs, and it is precisely this that is meant by the phrase "*liberty* of the Church," in the language of the Roman Curia. It is distinctly maintained that the liberty of the Catholic religion implies the authority of the Church to decide for itself what attributes, what organization, what legislation, what civil and criminal as well as moral and spiritual jurisdiction, and what disciplinary, judicial, administrative, and executive instrumentalities, are necessary or convenient for the exercise of its divine functions. Not only are all human laws or institutions in any way conflicting with this "liberty" invalid and null *ab initio*, but criminal and impious; and, further, it is the duty of the State to lend its arm, when needful, to execute and enforce the decisions of the Church. It is upon such grounds that Rome claims the right to establish tribunals having exclusive jurisdiction of all matters, civil or criminal, in

King of kings and Lord of lords..... The pope, by virtue of his exalted dignity, is at the summit of the two powers."

which the Church or any of its ministers are concerned,* and to create monastic and other religious bodies and give them legal corporate existence.

* There is probably no one among the legislative and judicial reforms of modern civilization which has been so strenuously resisted and condemned by the Romish Church as the abolition of the "Fora Ecclesiastica," or ecclesiastical courts, in the European states, and the consequent subjection of the Catholic clergy to the general, civil, and criminal law of the land. These tribunals formerly existed in every Catholic country, and in some European states they have been abolished only within the present generation. The judges, and all the principal officers of the ecclesiastical courts were taken from the clergy, and the rules of procedure and of evidence were totally diverse from those observed in the secular courts. Thus, laymen were not competent witnesses against churchmen in criminal causes: "Laicus," says Marcardus, "contra clericum in causâ criminali testimonium dicere prohibetur" ("Laymen are not permitted to testify against a priest in a criminal case"); and this protection was extended to all tonsured, even if not yet ordained, persons. As Romagnosi observes, this is not merely the opinion of a canonist, but it is founded on an express provision of the canonical law. According to the same authority, a witness legally infamous, and consequently incompetent to testify in a civil court, might be received to testify in "Fora Ecclesiastica," *sub torturâ* (under torture), in support of wills in favor of pious objects. See Marcardus "De Probatione."

The abuses inevitable under such a system of jurisprudence are too obvious to need to be dwelt upon. And yet, it should be universally known, the power to create such tribunals, with such jurisdiction and so administered, is one of the "liberties" most tenaciously insisted on by the papacy at the present day. The Syllabus of 1864, v., xxxi., enumerates, among the damnable errors condemned by the papacy, the proposition: "Ecclesiasticum forum pro temporalibus clericorum causis sive civilibus sive criminalibus omnino de medio tollendum esse, etiam inconsultâ et reclamanti Apostalicâ Sede," and refers to two allocutions of Pius IX., the *Acerbissimum* of the 27th of

The sophism which consists in employing words in one sense in the premises, and in another in the conclusion, is dexterously and constantly used by Romish controversialists, and opponents are too often confounded by arguments in which a recognition of the *liberty* of the Church is converted into an admission of its *authority*, and the concession of a *privilege* to be enjoyed into the acknowledgment of a *right* to be exercised.

In these days of governmental resistance to ecclesiastical aggression, and of repression of ecclesiastical abuses, no complaint is more frequently and boldly urged than that of an infringement of the *liberty* of the Church. Equal religious freedom, in its true sense, is admitted as a political right by every really civilized people; but papal Rome claims that the liberties of the Church are as wide as her cupidity and her ambition, and it rejects the principle *sic utere tuo ut alienum non lædas*, or rather insists that there is no *jus alienum* as against the Church, and that no

September, 1852, and the *Nunquam fore* of the 15th of December, 1856, both of which contain violent protestations against the abolition of these justly detested tribunals in Hispano-American republics. Of course, if these courts had continued to exist in the Sardinian states, the shocking crimes which led to the suppression of the schools of the Ignorantelli at Turin and elsewhere, ten years ago, would have gone unpunished, and Father Théoger and his accomplices would still be engaged in their accursed work of corruption. See Appendix VI.

supposed right or liberty which conflicts with her pretensions can have a lawful or valid foundation.

But to return to Rosweyde's principal labors. "Vitæ Patrum" is a title first used generically, and applied indiscriminately to all collections of lives of saints, the particular work intended being indicated by reference to the name of the supposed author. But a narrative of a visit or visits to the monks and hermits of Egypt and the adjacent desert, believed to have been drawn up, or, perhaps, compiled or translated from Greek into Latin, by Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia, in the latter half of the fourth century, appears to be the work usually meant by early mediæval writers when they cite the "Vitæ Patrum," or, as by an easily explicable grammatical error it was popularly called, the "Vitas Patrum." Lives of saints and hermits, attributed to St. Jerome and other writers, were subsequently added to this work of Rufinus, and the whole collection took the name of "Vitæ [or Vitas] Patrum." Before the year 1471, three editions, or rather three issues of one edition, of the "Vitæ Patrum" appeared, comprising in five books a large proportion of the matter contained in Rosweyde's redaction. These three issues are all without title-page, date, or place of publication or name of printer. In the following years of the same

century, at least five other editions, with more or less new matter and many changes of arrangement, were published in different countries. Rosweyde's second edition, Antwerp, 1628, contains a carefully revised text of all the contents of previous issues, with important additional biographical, historical, and critical treatises, with valuable prolegomena, notes, glossary, and indexes, and it has not yet been superseded. Migne, indeed, has reprinted it, without addition or improvements, in volumes lxxiii. and lxxiv. of his "Patrologiæ Cursus Completus," Paris, 1860; but the mechanical execution of this edition is in the same very inferior style as the other volumes of his collection, and, like them, it has nothing but its cheapness to recommend it.

The editions of the "Vitæ Patrum" thus far enumerated are all in Latin; but several translations into different modern languages appeared in the course of the fifteenth century. Of these, the most interesting to English and American students is that of Caxton, printed by Wynkyn de Worde after Caxton's death, at Westminster, in 1495, under the title, "Vitas Patrum, or the Lyves of the olde anncyent Holy Faders Hermytes," and it is justly celebrated as one of the finest productions of De Worde's press. This translation does not appear to have ever been

reprinted, and it is much to be wished that some of the English publishing societies would prepare a new edition of a work which, on philological as well as literary and historical grounds, has so strong claims to our attention.

In the form in which Rosweyde has given us this volume, it is a stout folio of about one thousand pages, exclusive of prolegomena and indexes. Its contents are divided into ten books, three of which were added by Rosweyde, and an appendix containing the "Paradisus" of Heraclides and the "Lausiaca" of Palladius. The first book is a compilation of narratives ascribed to different authors, among whom St. Jerome is the most conspicuous; the second and third pass under the name of Rufinus; and the remaining books are of various and for the most part uncertain authorship. These lives were mostly written in Greek, but some of the Latin translations were probably nearly contemporaneous with the originals. In general, the Latinity is very far from classic, but in the main the simplicity of the thought renders the construction clear enough, and, at all events, those who are shocked by its barbarisms may read with pleasure the quaint old translations into modern languages, and especially the Flemish, which is apparently by Rosweyde himself, and is undoubt-

edly the best of them all. The Continental translations of the "Vitæ Patrum" had great success, and the editions of them are numerous. On the other hand, as we have said, Caxton's translation of this work never had a second edition, though his version of the much inferior "Legenda Lombardica" of Peter de Voragine, commonly called the "Legenda Aurea," was twice reprinted by himself, thrice by De Worde, and several times by other printers.

As a matter of pure literary history, perhaps the most noticeable feature of the first book, if not of the whole volume, is the incorporation into it of the Oriental myth or religious romance of Barlaam and Josaphat, the truth of which is vouched for by the Greek translator, long supposed to have been Joannes Damascenus, an ecclesiastical writer of the eighth century, who treats the narrative as his own, and declares that he derived his facts from trustworthy sources. The authenticity of this legend was doubted at an early period, and mediæval criticism was acute enough to detect in the tale itself internal evidence of the purely imaginative and even heathen character of the narrative. But this question was soon disposed of, so far as respects the true believer, by the decision of an infallible Church, which recognized the validity of the pretensions of these saints, en-

rolled them in her martyrologies, and appointed the 27th of November for their veneration. Profane learning has now traced the lives of Barlaam and Josaphat to a Sanskrit original, and identified the holy men with Sakya-Mouni, the divine founder of Buddhism, and one of his apostles.*

Perhaps no single legend has obtained a more extensive Continental popularity than this. Not to speak of numerous versions in all the principal European tongues, we have before us a Flemish translation of the sixteenth century, and an Icelandic, or Old Northern, of the beginning of the thirteenth; it still continues to be separately reprinted for popular circulation, and one may find it in many a humble cottage in Italy on the same shelf with the "Lottery Dream-book," De' Liguori's "Glorie di Maria," and the exploits of the doughty paladins of chivalry, "Guerino detto il Meschino" and "I Reali di Francia."

It was certainly not a new thing for a mediæval hagiologist to adopt a heathen tale as the groundwork of a Christian legend, or even for the authori-

* See Max Müller in *Contemporary Review* for July, 1870, p. 588; and Colonel Yule's "Marco Polo," second edition, vol. ii., pp. 304–308. This couple of heathen saints still retains its place in the Romish calendar, and is found in the official *Diario Romano* for November 27th, 1874 (issued *con privilegio Pontificio*), p. 87.

ties of the Romish Church to introduce unbaptized and unbelieving pagans into the bead-roll of her demi-gods; but, like the close conformity between the ritual and vestments of the Buddhist lamas and those of the Catholic priesthood, the fact that a Sanskrit narrative should have found its way to the shores of the Mediterranean, in that dark period, is of great interest as an illustration both of the wide range of Oriental influence on Western culture and Western religious ideas, and of the totally unhistorical character of the legendary lore of Rome. Independently of this fact, the story of Barlaam and Josaphat is the least attractive narrative in the "Vitæ Patrum," because it has little of the simple, true-hearted, and inartificial character which distinguishes so many of the legends embraced in that volume. In fact, that which gives the "Vitæ Patrum" its value and interest above later collections of the same general nature is, that the narratives are partly derived from personal observation and experience, and from intercourse with the monks and hermits they describe, and partly from the reports of other devotees believed to have been spectators of the events to which they bore witness. They are generally the productions of men not only fair-minded and honest in purpose, but, tried by the standard of their age, intelligent and ju-

dicious. In general, their evidence as to what they saw, due allowance being made for enthusiasm and self-delusion, may be received as true; while at the same time sound principles of historical criticism require us to reject as pure fiction a large proportion of the facts which they narrate on hearsay evidence and tradition. The writers were inspired by no purpose but to promote the glory of God. The public they addressed was not the world, but the cloister. So far as their works had a consciously didactic character, they were designed to stimulate the zeal and fire the devotion of the professed; and the conversion of the wicked was but an incidental result to be accomplished, not by the popular circulation of these writings, but by the preaching of the ordained ministry, whose character they were striving to form by exhibiting for their imitation examples of the passive and ascetic virtues, abstinence, self-denial, voluntary poverty, rigorous discipline, courage in encountering and fortitude in enduring the tortures and death of the martyr.

Though the general tone of the earlier Christian legends is such as we have described, there are in the mythic lore of mediæval Catholicism isolated instances of miracles of a different character, which, if not in their original conception, at least in the con-

struction given to them and the application made of them, apparently stand out from the general mass of contemporaneous thaumaturgy, and seem to anticipate the spirit of a later age. Some of them we shall notice incidentally hereafter; but as a characteristic example of the class we are speaking of, and for the sake of pointing out that even these miracles had originally a purely ecclesiastical significance, we will here refer to the miracle of Bolsena, to which the Romish Church has attached such vast importance. Centuries before the time of Luther, skepticism had made its way among the Catholic clergy, who at that time were almost the exclusive possessors of theological learning, and who alone occupied themselves with religious controversy. The doctrine of the real presence, transubstantiation, or the conversion of the bread and wine consecrated in the sacrament of the eucharist into the actual flesh and blood of Christ, being unsupported by the evidence of the senses, was accepted with extreme difficulty even by the priesthood; and there was always a strong party in the Church itself which doubted, if it did not positively deny, the fact of the miraculous transformation. According to the authoritative doctrine, this miracle of transubstantiation was performed, not by an immediate and special exercise of divine power alone, but

through the concurring instrumentality of the priest. It was not the appropriation of the elements to the religious purpose of the sacrament, or their actual reception by the communicant, which operated the change, but it was the solemn pronouncing of a certain formula by an ordained priest that metamorphosed the substance, while it retained the color, consistence, and all material accidents of ordinary bread and wine, into the real flesh and blood of Christ. Every priest could administer the sacrament, every priest could at pleasure make himself a co-worker with God in this great miracle.* The performance of this act by him was a necessary condition precedent to the reception of the sacrament by the penitent and the pronouncing of absolution; and hence the possession of this tremendous power by the clergy, and especially the belief of the priests themselves that they did actually exercise it, were matters of ex-

* "Their [the priesthood's] incommunicable and highest prerogative is not in governing; *it is in the power of making the Son of God the slave of their voice*, in offering the Son to the Father in unbloody sacrifice for the sins of the world, in being the channels through which grace is communicated, and in the supreme and incommunicable power of remitting and retaining sin."—Donoso Cortes, *Essays on Catholicism*, etc., p. 49, Dublin, 1874. Not having at hand the original of this absurd book, now in high favor with the ultramontane party, we quote from M'Donald's translation published as above. The italicizing is our own.

treme importance as tending to confirm the influence of the clergy on the people, and to strengthen in the clergy itself the *esprit de corps*, the feeling of a common superiority of function by the possession of an exclusive prerogative denied to the laity; for while the layman could, in case of necessity, perform the ceremony of baptism, which was the sacrament next in importance to that of the eucharist, the priest alone could administer the Lord's-supper, the necessary accompaniment of absolution.* According to the Church, the miracle of Bolsena was performed to convince a skeptical priest, and through him his doubting brethren, of the reality of the transformation of the sacred elements. When he cut the consecrated wafer, blood flowed from the bread and stained the napkin on which it lay. The napkin, or *corporale*, with its yet visible stains of the divine blood, is alleged to be still preserved in the Cathedral of Orvieto, in which diocese Bolsena lies.

For the reasons we have stated, the miracle of Bol-

* "A priest who kept a concubine, and who was covered with leprosy, found that the leprosy disappeared at the moment of consecration in the celebration of the mass, but returned again after the communion. Do we not here clearly see the image of sin, the moral leprosy to which the guilty priest was a prey, and which left him only at the moment when, clothed with the divine character, the *human* nature departed from him and there remained only the minister of the Divinity?"—MAURY'S *Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age*, p. 65.

sena was considered a matter of cardinal importance to the clergy at the time it is alleged to have happened; and when, two centuries later, the great struggle of the Reformation gave prominence to two leading questions, the doctrines of transubstantiation and justification by faith, the miracle of Bolsena acquired a new importance as a piece of evidence addressed to the world as well as to the clergy. So long as that controversy raged, this miracle was constantly appealed to as a conclusive proof of the apostolic character of the Catholic priesthood, and the anniversary of its occurrence, the feast of the Corpus Domini, was celebrated with the greatest pomp and splendor. In later days, in spite of the efforts of Newman and other Catholic writers to divert public attention from the real issues of the present day by reviving the discussion of forgotten controversies, the great theological questions which divided religious opinion in the sixteenth century have fallen into the background, and the real presence and justification by faith are no longer points which much occupy men's minds. The agitating problem now is, not the relative superiority of Catholicism and Protestantism as schemes of religious belief or even of practice, not what are the spiritual functions and prerogatives of the clergy, but whether the papacy shall absorb all civil and all

temporal power, and whether Rome, or rather the Jesuits in the name of Rome, shall again rule the world. Hence the miracle of Bolsena has sunk into comparative insignificance; and it is not very improbable that the famous shrine, wrought in the fourteenth century with such exquisite skill to contain the *corporale*, may, not long hence, find a place, as so many similar works have already done, in a profane museum of mediæval art.

As has been observed, the "Vitæ Patrum" has become an obsolete book. It has been completely superseded by a branch of legendary literature intended for more general circulation and for more purely popular effect. The Jesuits have never forgotten the old adage: Power must be maintained by the same means by which it was acquired. They know that Christianity was received by a large proportion of its primitive converts on the testimony of miracles. It is to signs and wonders that they now appeal in proof of the divine authority of their mission; and from the miracles of St. Francis Xavier to those of Our Lady of Lourdes, there is scarcely one which has not owed its acceptance by the faithful and the authorities of the Church to the ministry of a Jesuit apostolate.

The Reformers of the sixteenth century, as well as

many of their followers in recent times, often failed to see clearly whither their own fundamental principles were leading them, and consequently they sometimes preached doctrines the full development of which involved the subsequent adoption of opinions which they did not perceive to be necessary consequences or corollaries of the great truths they were proclaiming. Hence they were unconsciously undermining many beliefs—such, for instance, as that in post-apostolic miracles—which they themselves, to some extent, entertained. The real import and ultimate result of their teachings was, that inspiration ceased with the apostles; that the power of working miracles was confined to them and other primitive disciples; and that the incarnation of Christ, as set forth and expounded in the records and doctrinal teachings of those holy men, constituted a complete and perfect dispensation, capable indeed of expansion and development in the way of interpretation and application, but neither requiring nor admitting addition or augmentation in dogma or in external supernatural proof.*

* The general doctrine among Protestants who claim a special divine origin for the Christian Scriptures may be thus stated: Christianity, as an intellectual religion, doubtless teaches more to a pure and cultivated mind than to a debased and ignorant one; but any system of religious doctrine which inculcates upon the latter what it allows to

The influence of the preaching of the Reformers was, in many respects, wider than the reception of their doctrines. Its leaven even penetrated within the pale of the Catholic Church, and produced a fermentation which threatened the decomposition of the whole mass. The mediæval legends were falling into discredit not only where the Reformation prevailed, but, for a time, even in strictly Catholic countries. But there had been reformers before the Reformation, and the opinions of Luther were fruits of a past as well as seeds of a future agitation. Anxious questionings concerning the soundness of the foundations of Romish supremacy had been rife,

be regarded as false by the former is itself false. There are, even in mathematics, gradations, approximations, or at least accommodations, of truth in the practical application of strictly scientific principles. To the common wheelwright, the relation of the circumference of a circle is as 22 to 7, or, in case greater exactness is required, as 355 to 113, and neither the reason nor the experience of the uninstructed mechanic contradicts this rule. To the mathematician the relation is a circulating decimal, and wholly incapable of exact numerical expression. The imperfection of language and the utter inadequateness of human conceptions of spiritual things may oblige religious teachers to employ terms which fall short of the truth, not terms in one case *contradictory* to terms employed in another. The Scriptures, say the Protestants, contain all spiritual truth necessary to the believer, and in matters of doctrine are their own witness. With increased knowledge and intellectual power among men, they are better and better understood, and this enlarged comprehension constantly keeps pace with the advance of intellect, supplies its needs, and renders further proofs or revelations superfluous.

and the necessity of counteracting these dangerous tendencies had long been felt by the Catholic hierarchy. Hence, for generations and even centuries before the reformatory movements of Luther, his associates and followers, there had been a persistent and successful effort on the part of the Romish Church to supersede the canonical Scriptures as an authoritative and sufficient guide to a knowledge of the facts, the faith, and the moral system of the Christian religion, and to substitute pontifical bulls, definitions, and ordinances as the sole rules of Christian doctrine and practice.* The old legendary narratives, originally composed, as we have seen, for the use and edification of the monastic clergy, and especially the later and more imaginative works of religious fiction, were observed to have the effect of weak-

* We have here an explanation of the remarkable fact that, while the translation and circulation of not only morally unexceptionable, but of absurd and demoralizing, legends have been, from a remote period, not only permitted, but promoted, by the Church of Rome, the translation of the Scriptures, and even private reading of the Vulgate, without special permission, has been sometimes absolutely forbidden, and under all circumstances discouraged by that Church. So reluctant were the ecclesiastical authorities to allow the study of the Bible to be in any way facilitated, that an English priest was burned alive, not two centuries before the Reformation, for preparing a concordance to that volume. On the other hand, dictionaries or general indexes to the body of legends are allowed; and there are even geographical dictionaries, or gazetteers, of the legends of the Catholic Church.

ening the hold of the Scriptures on the hearts of the people, of strengthening ecclesiastical influence among them, and of constantly presenting the Church of Rome, embodied in the clergy and especially in the regular orders, as enlightened and sanctified from above, and clothed with spiritual supremacy by divine appointment; in fine, as the recipient and minister of a continuous perpetual inspiration, witnessed from time to time, as was the mission of the apostles, by signs and miracles, and therefore as the equal and ever-living successor of Christ. The title God on Earth (*Deus in Terris*), was very commonly applied to the pope by ecclesiastical and at last by profane writers; and, in fact, though the phrase is now not much used, the same attribute is even more vociferously claimed for the head of the Romish Church at the present day.

The Founder of the Christian religion disclaimed all political authority, discouraged all worldly ambition in his disciples, and even asserted no direct supremacy over the moral and intellectual man. On the contrary, he appealed to the testimony of the individual conscience and reason in support of his right to be heard as an expounder of spiritual and ethical truth. The Romish Church makes no such appeal, arrogates to itself despotic authority, de-

mands unreasoning, unquestioning submission, and claims assent to its dogmas upon its own *ipse dixit*, unsupported by external argument or internal evidence.*

* "It follows from this that the Church alone has the right to affirm and deny, and that there is no right outside her to affirm what she denies, or to deny what she affirms. The day when Society, forgetting her doctrinal decisions, has asked the press and the tribune, newswriters and assemblies, what is truth and what is error, in that day error and truth are confounded in all intellects, Society enters into the regions of shadows, and falls under the empire of fictions.....

"The doctrinal intolerance of the Church has saved the world from chaos. Her doctrinal intolerance has placed beyond question political, domestic, social, and religious truths—primitive and holy truths, which are not subject to discussion because they are the foundations of all discussions..... This serves to explain why the Church, and the Church alone, has had the holy privilege of fruitful and prolific discussion."—Donoso Cortes, *Essays*, pp. 42, 43.

Of all the means of moral and intellectual culture, there is probably none more efficient than the study of ethical and religious doctrine, including the investigation of the principles on which it rests. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, theological learning occupied in the general education of Protestant countries the place now assigned to politics and public economy. The great statesmen, philosophers, and even poets of those periods had received almost a professional clerical training, and herein lies one of the secrets of their strength. The Church claims this vast field as her exclusive province, and in denying to laymen the right to the free exercise of their reason on the questions most important to their well-being here and hereafter, Donoso Cortes and other defenders of Rome deprive them of the most potent methods of the highest mental discipline. They contend that the doctrines of the Church are to be received as *axioms*, propositions of necessary and absolute truth; and that no question of right and wrong, of duty to God or man, can be discussed on any other basis. It is not surprising that writers starting with such preposterous assump-

Rome assumes to personate the Redeemer in an organized corporate form; to be not only the perpetual depository of the spiritual functions of Christ, but also to exercise what he repudiated—a general sovereignty over all the temporal powers of the earth. Pretensions so extravagant, however boldly and persistently urged, require some other support than bare assertion, and hence the necessity of a succession of new supernatural evidences more or less akin to the material proofs which accompanied the earthly life of Christ. These, it is declared, are found in frequent new revelations and displays of miraculous power, and hence, as might naturally be supposed, the signs and wonders of the apostolic age have been left far behind, in number and in variety, by those of the mediæval and modern Romish Church.

There were, undoubtedly, very many in the early ages of Christianity who adopted the new faith, not upon the testimony of its miracles, but from a sense of its adaptedness to the moral needs of the human spirit. There are happily, in our days, a large number of enlightened men in Catholic countries who accept

tions should arrive at preposterous conclusions. Donoso Cortes himself is a striking example of the chaotic confusion of ideas in a mind which believes because Rome declares, and not because reason and conscience approve.

the Christian religion in the form in which alone birth and education have made it known to them, but who have as little respect for miracle-mongers as the most skeptical Protestant. But these are the fewest. It is not to such that the authorities of the Romish Church now address themselves, but to the multitude whose faith is founded in the grossest materialism, and who can apprehend no spiritual, no abstract truth, except when clothed in the coarsest sensuous form.

As soon as the Society of Jesuits had become well organized, and its aims and policy clearly defined in the minds of its leaders, it was apparent that its real scope was not the revival of apostolic Christianity, but the resuscitation of mediæval ecclesiasticism as a means of universal and supreme power to be used for purely worldly purposes. The promotion of a religious reaction became its peculiar function, and the rehabilitation of the more recent fabulous literature of the Church played an important part in the work of reconstruction.

From the literary character and critical ability of Rosweyde, it would hardly have been expected that he would engage very zealously in the dissemination of a mythology so different in tone and object from the older legendary narratives which he had done so much to make accessible and intelligible. But the

discipline of the order of Loyola permits and encourages strange and sudden changes of apparent purpose in its adepts, and accordingly we find the hand of Rosweyde as active in this new field as it had been in the illustration of more primitive hagiology. His most important labor in the branch of religious fiction, which we are now about to introduce to the reader, is his Flemish translation of the "Flos Sanctorum" of Ribadineira, with numerous additions, in two large folios, which, as appears by a copy before us, had so rapid a sale in the small public for which it was designed that it had reached a sixth edition as early as the year 1686. He gave to the book the title "General Legend of the Saints," and this and other versions of the collection of Ribadineira are usually cited by this name. The "Flos Sanctorum" has been translated into most European languages; it has been published under the highest ecclesiastical sanctions, in hundreds of editions, some dating within the last two or three years; and it is to be regarded as the most authoritative repository of Romish ecclesiastical tradition which is accessible to the general public in the Catholic countries of the European continent.* The principal rivals to this work in England

* Several collections of legends bearing the title of "Flos Sancto-

and France, so far as we remember, are Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints" and Baillet's "Vies des Saints." But these are by no means stimulating enough to satisfy the appetites of Catholic lovers of sensational religious narrative. Butler's work is feeble, flat, and washy, seldom rising even to the ridiculous; and Baillet's four heavy folios, though learned, are scarcely less insipid. The most extensive collection of the Lives of the Saints is the "Acta Sanctorum" of the Bollandists, which when completed will be among the most voluminous works ever published in Europe.* The biographies of the saints follow

rum" appeared in the sixteenth century, and one of them, printed in the year 1556, was inserted in the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," *donec corrigatur*. This is not the "Flos Sanctorum" of Ribadineira referred to in the text, which was first printed near the close of the sixteenth century, at Madrid, in Spanish. None of the very numerous editions and translations of this work appear to have met with any ecclesiastical censure.

* We barely notice this collection because, like the "Annals" of Baronius, and the most ancient legends we have spoken of, it is a purely *professional* work, printed in Latin, and designed solely for the use of the clergy, not for the lay population. The "Flos Sanctorum" of Ribadineira, on the other hand, though with a Latin title, was first written and published in Spanish, and intended for the edification of the Spanish people, upon the religious character of which nation it has had a very powerful influence. It has been translated into most modern European languages, as well as into Latin, and is still very widely circulated. Besides the regular *canonical* legendaries, there exists in manuscript, or in rare literary collections, a vast mass of old religious fable which, though once very popular, is not known to have

the calendar, the name and life of each being placed under the day of his martyrdom. The sixtieth folio comes down to the 29th of October, and the lives of the two or three thousand saints remaining to be catalogued will, it is thought, fill forty or fifty more additional volumes. The plan of the "Acta Sanctorum" and of the "Flos Sanctorum," which is the same in this respect, leads to some jostling among the aspirants for human veneration and some jealousy among their devotees, because it happens, not unfrequently, that the anniversaries of several martyrs occur on the same day. This is naturally a growing evil, for all the saints must be accommodated within the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, and the number is constantly growing.* In 1862, Pope Pius IX. canonized twenty-seven Jap-

been formally approved by Rome. To this mythology we can only allude in passing, and we confine ourselves to legends which are at this day circulated under the sanction of the competent authorities of the Romish Church. See D'Ancona, "I Precursori di Dante," Firenze, 1873, and authorities there cited. See also Appendix VII.

* Rome has now a considerable number of candidates for canonization on the lists. Not to mention humbler individuals, we may specially refer to Joan of Arc and Louis XVI., the claims of both of whom are strenuously urged by French ultramontanists, obviously for political reasons. Our old friend Columbus, too, whose jealous spirit the honors paid to the American Cardinal M'Closkey will not allow to sleep, is an aspirant for the same elevation. What will Mr. Aaron Goodrich and Professor Anderson say to this?

anese martyrs in a batch, and a volume at least will be required for a fair narrative of the heroic deeds of Pedro de Arbues, a holy man, selected as chief associate by Torquemada, the famous Grand Inquisitor of the fifteenth century, and whose apotheosis was well justified by his exploits during the few years in which he brandished the torch and plied the rack.*

* For the use of the word *apotheosis* in this sense we have the authority of Cozza, who, in his life of De Arbues published at Rome in 1867, applies this term even to the beatification which precedes the final decree of canonization. In ecclesiastical Latin, the saints of the Church are commonly called *Divus*, the appellation bestowed by the Romans on the deified emperors after their death. According to his biographer, the distinguishing quality which recommended De Arbues to the gentle Torquemada, and of course, we must suppose, to Pius IX. who canonized him, was his tender and sympathetic nature, which told so powerfully on the Jews and Moslems of his province that these miscreants embraced Christianity by thousands as soon as it was known what means of "moral suasion" the dread tribunal had intrusted to him. Cozza does not descend to particulars, but he perhaps refers to an amiable practice, in which De Arbues indulged, of roasting his victims by a slow fire, thus humanely sparing them the keen pangs of a sudden death by exposure to a fiercer heat, affording them an easy and gradual introduction to the more agonizing torments they were about to enter upon in the infernal regions—under the sharp ministrations of an Inquisitor of whom even De Arbues and Torquemada were but feeble though ambitious imitators—and, at the same time, securing to them an hour or two of leisure for repentance. De Arbues is reported to have been eminently successful in inventing methods of torture which inflicted the keenest agony on the victim without a wound or even breaking the skin. What valuable services for a Church which "never sheds blood!"

When Rome condescends to answer the charge of persecution, she

The Bollandist Lives of the Saints have, in general, no literary merit, or, as Froude expresses it, "no form or beauty to give them attraction in themselves;" and we can conscientiously indorse his judicious recommendation, that "whoever is curious to study the lives of the saints in their originals should rather go elsewhere than to the Bollandists, and, uni-

retorts by reproaching Protestants with an intolerance as uncharitable and even as ferocious as her own. There is certainly color of truth in this accusation. The Reformation was not at once and completely our *everriculum fermenti veteris.* The old leaven long infected the new religion. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Protestants not only repaid persecution by persecution, but even volunteered it; and there have been cases where this treatment of "heretics" was almost as unchristian, as inhuman, as criminal, as the inquisitorial acts of the Romish Church herself. But there is this difference. As soon as that free discussion which Rome interdicts to her flock had shown the Reformed Churches that religious persecution was contrary to their own principles and to those of the Gospel, they ceased to practice it; and there is no Protestant who does not now deplore and condemn this error, this crime, of his forefathers. Rome, on the other hand, has never disapproved any of the bloody suppressions of heresy, any of the atrocities of her instruments, from the crusade against the Albigeois to the dragonnades of Louis XIV. and the recent murders of Protestant clergymen by Catholic mobs, headed by priests, at Barletta and Mexico. Even now she canonizes the most fiendish of Inquisitors, and claims the right to put down heresy by force. Rome cries to us, as she did to the immortal pilgrim, Christian, "You will never mend till more of you be burned." Bunyan's picture of the "Old Man that sat in the mouth of the cave" is as true to the life at the present day as it was when that wonderful genius lay languishing twelve years in Bedford jail, a victim to the intolerance of a Protestant State Church. See "Pilgrim's Progress," Part I.

versally, never read a late life when he can command an early one."

Our limits of space will not permit us to give extracts from the older lives of saints. We must refer our readers to the various legendary collections, to Mr. Lecky's valuable work, and to Milman's "Latin Christianity," for notices of them. We now proceed to give some account of what, in the present phase of modern religious life, is of greater practical importance, though of far less intrinsic interest—the legendary literature of the Church of Rome since the Reformation and the foundation of the order of Jesuits.

II.

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUITS TO THE REIGN OF PIUS IX.

We now proceed to give, from sources the authenticity and even authoritative character of which Cardinal Manning himself would scarcely have the hardihood to deny, some specimens of the moral and intellectual nutriment which the Romish Church has supplied to its votaries for more than three centuries. When we speak of the authoritative character of these legends, we mean that they have been published, and are constantly republished, as well as orally promulgated, under the express sanction and with the approval of the proper ecclesiastical licensing officers, and very often also of other high dignitaries of the Church, including the pontiffs themselves. On this point we desire to make ourselves well understood, and we think it important to draw the attention of our readers to the position of eminent Catholic ecclesiastics, and especially of Dr. Newman, in relation to it. In 1873, Dr. Newman

republished an essay on the "Miracles of Scripture," written by him for the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana" in 1825–'26, when he was still a Protestant; and another, on the miracles of the first age of Christianity, written in 1842–'43 as a preface to a translation of a part of Fleury's "Ecclesiastical History." In the former of these essays, page 77 of the new edition, he speaks with some severity of the "notorious insincerity and frauds of the Church of Rome;" in the latter, at page 236, he quotes Melchior Canus, a Dominican and a divine of Trent, as saying of the "Legenda Aurea" that it is the production of "an iron mouth, a leaden heart, and an intellect without exactness or discretion;" and, on page 237, he refers to similar avowals respecting other legendaries "from the first century to the sixteenth, from inspired writers to the schools of St. Dominic and the Oratory." In a note on page 77 he qualifies the passage above quoted respecting the "notorious insincerity and frauds of the Church of Rome," by admitting that "there have been frauds among Catholics, and for gain, as among Protestants, whether churchmen or dissenters, or among antiquarians, or transcribers of MSS., or picture-dealers, or horse-dealers," etc., "but that does not prove the Church to be fraudulent," etc., etc. Dr. Newman does not here assert, in direct terms, that the

Church of Rome has never practiced "insincerity and fraud" by circulating fabulous legends and sanctioning counterfeit miracles, but he unquestionably means to be understood as altogether denying the complicity of that Church in any such imposture, and her responsibility for the circulation of such books as the "Legenda Aurea" and other lying "legendaries" and tales of fictitious miracles.

It is a fashionable affectation among English Protestants, and by some of them it has been carried to an offensive obsequiousness, to treat Dr. Newman as a thoroughly fair, open, and candid writer on controverted questions in theology and ecclesiastical history, polity, and discipline. We freely admit that Dr. Newman has not the unblushing and unscrupulous recklessness of assertion and denial which characterizes some of the more conspicuous of his countrymen, who have preceded or followed him in transferring their religious allegiance to an alien enemy, and who habitually use fact, as geologists use time, *ad libitum;* but we should be glad to see some proof that he does not hold the *suppressio veri* to be lawful when the truth would be damaging to his cause. It is observable that, in the note from which we have quoted, Dr. Newman, though citing some private expressions of disapproval of absurd legends,

does not produce a single authoritative or official declaration of any period later than the "sixteenth century," the date of the foundation of the order of Jesuits, as condemning any ecclesiastical fable or fraud whatsoever; and he most assuredly knows that the monstrous fictions we have above referred to, many of which are in a high degree ridiculous, profane, and demoralizing, as will appear from the extracts we shall give from them, are printed and reprinted under the *imprimatur* of the constituted authorities of the Church, and assiduously circulated at this day by the parochial and monastic clergy among their penitents, without a word of reproof from their superiors. In short, he is fully aware that this foolish and corrupting mythology is propagated with every sanction the Church can give it, short of a formal dogmatic *ex-cathedrâ* affirmation of its truth. And Dr. Newman can hardly be ignorant of the fact, that even such affirmation has been made, at least impliedly, in regard to some such fables, in pontifical acts of canonization declared on the face of them to be pronounced *ex cathedrâ* by divine inspiration. On this point a word of explanation will not be amiss. The performance of miracles by the candidate, or by his relics after his death, is not only a necessary condition of canonization, or even of the

ascription of that lower degree of holiness implied in beatification, but is, in fact, the sole base and ground upon which either of these proceedings is founded. When the canonization or beatification of a supposed saint is proposed, and the large funds necessary to cover the expenses are raised or secured by the devotees of the candidate, or the sovereigns, who ask this honor for him—for Rome does nothing, not even canonize a saint or crown an image of the Virgin, gratis—the evidence of the performance of miracles by the aspirant, his bones, or some fragment of his person or his raiment, is referred to an ecclesiastical tribunal, which submits a report upon it in the nature of what lawyers call a "special verdict," detailing the facts established by the testimony. Upon this report the pope pronounces judgment, and, if favorable to the pretensions of the claimant, decrees his canonization or beatification according to the degree in which his "heroic" virtues have been exercised. The decree, which is promulgated *ex cathedrâ* by the pope in person, with the same formalities as in the case of a definition of a new dogma, is expressly grounded on the miracles, which it usually recites, and often at great length, and concludes with a declaration, that if any shall disregard the decree or dare to dispute it, he will "incur the wrath of Al-

mighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul." It is noticeable that in most cases the decree does not refer to the *proof* of the miracles, or the report of the ecclesiastical board on that subject, but treats them as if directly known to the pontiff. The records of the proceedings, which in many cases are curiously minute and circumstantial, do not generally employ the word *cathedra* in referring to the seat of the pontiff, but more commonly use *solium*, always, however, stating that he was crowned with the mitre when pronouncing the decree. In some records *Sedes eminentior, id est, Solium Pontificium*, is used; but, in point of fact, this *Sedes* or *Solium* is the technical, official *Cathedra*, all decrees pronounced from which are infallible, and, as appears from the work of Pope Benedict XIV., "De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione," lib. xlv., cap. 4, this point is insisted upon by those who hold the infallibility of the judgment of canonization. But, as we have stated, there are instances in which the decree, in express terms claims the divine sanction. Thus the sentence of Clement VIII., in the canonization of Saint Raymond, asserts itself to be pronounced *auctoritate Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Nostrâ.* See Benedict

XIV., "De Canonizatione," etc., lib. i., app. xi. Still stronger is the language employed in the decree of the canonization of the saints Isidore Agricola, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Filippo Neri, and Teresa de Jesu, promulgated by Pope Gregory XV., on the 12th of March, 1622, and printed in Benedict XIV., "De Canonizatione," etc., lib. i., app. xi., edition *of Prato*, 1839, pp. 538–541. The extract from the report of the case given in the volume cited is confined to the final proceedings, and does not, like many others, embrace the history of the miracles of the candidates, though it dwells largely on their merits. The final decree read by the secretary, *nomine suæ Beatitudinis* and in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and all the principal officers of the Curia, is as follows:

"Audite, Cœli, quæ loquor; audiat Terra verba oris mei!

"Cum e re Christiani Nominis esse sibi pie persuadent Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, cœlestes honores quinque his Beatis tribui, divino Numine instinctus ex altissimâ hac Christianæ Sapientiæ Cathedrâ quam Divinæ Veritatis Oraculum Deus ipse constituit in terris, Isidorum Agricolam, Ignatium Loyolam, Franciscum Xaverium, Hispanos; Philippum Nerium, Florentinum, in Sanctorum Confessorum

Catalogum, Teresiam de Jesu, Hispanam, in Sanctorum Virginum Numerum referendos esse, decernit." Or, in English, thus:

"Hear, ye heavens, what I speak; let the earth hear the words of my mouth!

"Forasmuch as our most Holy Lord [a common Latin designation of the Pope] is piously persuaded that it is for the interest of the Christian name that celestial honors be ascribed to these five Blessed, being impelled by divine inspiration, he decrees, from this most exalted chair of Christian wisdom, which God himself has established as the oracle of Divine Truth on earth, that Isidore Agricola, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, all of Spain, and Philip Neri, of Florence, be inscribed on the roll of Holy Confessors, and that Teresa de Jesu, of Spain, be counted in the number of Holy Virgins."

The pope, then, upon the supplication of Cardinal Ludovisi, confirmed the sentence read in his name by blessing the assemblage, making the sign of the cross, and solemnly pronouncing the sanction, *Decernimus.* In claiming inspiration and infallibility, language can go no further.

What the particular miracles were upon the strength of which the canonization of these saints was decreed does not appear from this record, and

the faithful are, of course, authorized to infer that they are those narrated in the "Flos Sanctorum," or General Legend, and other collections published under the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities, the only sources, in fact, from which they can obtain information on the subject.

The decree of canonization, being founded on the alleged miracles, of course implies the affirmation of the actual performance and genuine supernatural character of those miracles; and if, in pronouncing it, the pope is to be considered as speaking officially *ex cathedrâ*, as is most expressly insisted by the terms of the decree, all Catholics are bound by his judgment as to the reality of the miracles asserted. The absurdity and evident falsity of many of them have led numbers of Catholics to attempt to evade this conclusion by denying that, in this case, the sentence is of a dogmatic and binding character. The question is discussed at great length, and numerous authorities on both sides are cited, in Benedict XIV., "De Canonizatione," lib. i. Pope Benedict leaves the precise point undecided, but his personal opinion is evidently in favor of the infallibility of these decrees, and he sums up his argument in these words: "Itaque, ut tantæ quæstioni finem denique imponamus: Si non hæreticum, temerari-

um quidem, scandalum toti Ecclesiæ afferentem, in Sanctos injuriosum, faventem hæreticis negantibus auctoritatem Ecclesiæ in canonizatione Sanctorum, sapientem hæresim, utpote viam sternentem infidelibus ad irridendum fideles, assertorem erroneæ propositionis et gravissimis pœnis obnoxium dicemus eum, qui auderet asserere, Pontificem in hac aut illâ canonizatione errasse ("De Canonizatione," etc., lib. i., cap. xlv., 28), which we thus translate: "To conclude the discussion, then, we declare that whoever shall dare to assert that the pope has erred in this or that canonization, is, if not heretical, rash; that he brings a scandal upon the whole Church; disparages the saints, and countenances heretics who deny the authority of the Church in the canonization of saints; savors of heresy, as opening the way to infidels for ridiculing the faithful; is a maintainer of an erroneous proposition, and deserving of the severest punishment." The pope adds, that this is the universal judgment of all authorities on either side of the main question.*

* Dr. Newman accordingly exposes himself to the gravest ecclesiastical censure if he hesitates to believe that angels, in the shape of two yoke of white oxen, assisted St. Isidore Agricola, then a farm-servant, in plowing a field: "Flos Sanctorum," iii., p. 213 a; that St. Teresa à Jesu was *ad divinos amplexus familiariter admissa;* that God once snatched (*ereptam*) a cross from her hands, and restored it

Hence it is clear that, as to all miracles adduced as proof of the sanctity of the canonized, the Church teaches that, if not positive heresy, it is a great sin to disbelieve them; and, consequently, the Church makes herself responsible for the truth of them, as well as for that of other fictitious wonders promulgated by the priesthood in her name, and the circulation of which a single word of condemnation from Rome would at once end forever. If Rome does not approve and sanction this use of her name by her official ministers, why is not that word spoken?

In view of such facts, where was Dr. Newman's "candor" when he penned the note in question as a salvo to the condemnation he had pronounced in the essay? Is it "for gain" that the Church makes herself a party to impostures and falsehood, or will Dr. Newman save himself by avowing that he, as

set with four large jewels; that Christ presented to her his right hand, and said: "Behold this nail, whereby it is attested that henceforth thou art my spouse, which dignity thou hadst not hitherto attained. Hereafter, therefore, thou shalt honor me not only because I am thy God and Creator, but thy spouse, as thou art my true spouse;" that, on another occasion, Christ said to her, "If I had not already created heaven, I would create it for thy sake alone;" that, notwithstanding these exalted favors, this saint was so humble that she habitually performed menial services in the convent, sometimes running about on all fours and carrying a pannier of stones on her back, *ritu quadrupedis*, and with a halter around her neck.—*Flos Sanctorum*, i., 519 a, 521 b., 526 b.

a son of the Church, accepts the legend of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins, whose festival is celebrated at Rome, on the 21st of October, at the churches of the Ursulines, who venerate St. Ursula as their patron, Torre de' Specchi, Sta. Maria del Popolo, and St. Ignatius, where the head of one of the virgins is exhibited; the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, who are venerated on the 27th of November; the ridiculous tales of Ribadineira and his continuators, or those of St. Alfonso de' Liguori in his "Glorie di Maria?" Will he stultify himself by declaring that he believes in the signs and wonders of the winking Virgin at Rimini, of the madonnas of La Salette and of Lourdes, and of the crazy nun of Paray-le-Monial? If not, does he acquit the Church of "insincerity and fraud" in sustaining them; or are these cases where the Church affirms to the multitude what it admits to Dr. Newman to be mere falsehood and delusion? It is pure disingenuousness and sophistry in Dr. Newman to talk of such cheats and impostures as the work of "Catholics," and not of the "Church," unless he means to assimilate Pius IX. and the whole hierarchy of Rome to "picture-dealers" and horse-jockeys, and to include them among the "Catholics" who commit these "frauds for gain."

If we are asked whether the superstitious beliefs and observances which we have noticed constitute the general faith and religious practice of intellectual lay men and women in Catholic countries, we reply, most emphatically, they do not. They are as decisively rejected by such persons as they are in Protestant lands, and those only are responsible for the existence of such doctrines and such delusions who actively or tacitly encourage their acceptance or diffusion. We know, too, that many Catholic ecclesiastics sincerely deplore the prevalence of these degrading superstitions, though we must add that few, if any, openly protest against them—for what Romish ecclesiastic would dare to denounce the fables, the follies, and the filth of De' Liguori? When intelligent Catholics are remonstrated with on the absurdity and even criminality of circulating these trivial and often immoral fables, and when you point to a papal brief recognizing them, and encouraging by indulgences and pardons the adoration of the image or relic by or through which the miracle is alleged to have been wrought, the stereotyped answer—especially from "perverts," who, as a general rule, are very ignorant as to the real teachings of the Church to which they have seceded—is that these tales are not matters of dogmatic definition; and therefore a

belief in them, even if sanctioned by a pontifical brief, is optional, not obligatory. We have already disposed of this point so far as the miracles of canonized saints are concerned; but even if there were any foundation for the opinion that canonization is not an authoritative, dogmatic affirmation of the reality of the miracles, the distinction between what we are invited and what we are obliged to believe is altogether too subtle for the mass of Catholic worshipers, who, in general, are not taught to attach vital importance to the question what sort of a chair the pope sat in when he pronounced a particular decree or issued a particular brief, or to discriminate between the solemnly formulated pontifical dogma and the preachings and teachings of the monastic and the parochial clergy, and who consequently suppose all that the Church, embodied in the pope, officially or unofficially proclaims, and all that the curate or confessor, the official representative of the Church, declares, to be equally binding. Every Catholic clergyman knows that the "Glories of Mary," and other equally fabulous and demoralizing collections, are constantly printed under ecclesiastical sanctions which command the respect of the vulgar, and that these books are in general circulation among his parishioners. Every priest knows that the masses, to whom

this profane mythology is addressed, do not distinguish between what the pope, *divino Numine instinctus*, pronounces to bind the reason and the conscience of the penitent, and what the higher or even the lower orders of the regular and parochial clergy supply to them in their regular church-services, in printed books and in festival sermons, as true representations of Christian faith, practice, and history. The devout Calabrian and Sicilian assassins and robbers, and even the honest peasantry and artisans who flock around the shrine of an imaginary saint, still more implicitly accept the doctrine and the fables which popular religious literature and the priesthood diffuse in narratives and harangues about their idols than they do the facts and teachings of the Gospel. The Church, then (that is, the priesthood), from the pope to the lowest country curate—for in the ultramontane slang of the present day the *Church* means the clergy only, and does not include the laity—is responsible for the degrading and demoralizing influence exerted on the people by the only literature it encourages and circulates. The very breviary, or manual of church-service, prepared under a decree of the Council of Trent and sanctioned by numerous papal ordinances, contains a number of legends, seldom, indeed, so offensive to good taste, good morals,

and good sense as many of the tales of Ribadineira and the visions of Mary Alacoque, but, nevertheless, often utterly undeserving of credit, and in a religious sense as unprofitable as the "Arabian Nights" tales.*

We have spoken of the class of legends we are now about to introduce to our readers as belonging to the last three centuries. Many of them, indeed, are of more ancient origin, but they had fallen into comparative oblivion, and had ceased to exercise any practical influence until Jesuit industry hunted them up, rechristened them, transformed them, clothed them in new habiliments suited to new special pur-

* What edification can a serious-minded worshiper find in the legend of St. Hilarion, contained in the breviary under October 21st, which happens to lie open before us? This saint, converted from paganism to Christianity when a school-boy, retired to anchorite life in the Egyptian desert at the age of fifteen, and died at eighty. He always wore a garment of sackcloth, and this, once put on, was never washed or changed: *nec vero saccum quo semel amictus est unquam aut lavit aut mutavit.*—*Breviarium Romanum*, October 21st, approved by Pope Clement VIII. and Urban VIII., and published at Paris and Lyons in 1851. The pious Isabella, daughter of his Most Catholic Majesty Philip II., fell far short of this, for she wore her linen unchanged only three years, the capture of Ostend, then in infidel hands, having released her from her solemn vow at the end of the siege.

Is any spiritual Christian the wiser for listening to the legend of Paul the Hermit? This saint lived in the desert to the age of one hundred and ten years, receiving every day, from a crow, half a loaf, and a whole one when he had a visitor. When St. Anthony found him dead in his cave, two lions appeared, bewailed his death, and dug his grave with their claws.—*Breviarium Romanum*, January 15th.

poses, and then sent them forth to the world, claiming for them the *prestige* of antiquity as a guarantee of their truth.

We have already observed that the chief evidence relied upon by the Jesuits for the claims of that Church is, not holiness of life in its professors, but the performance of miracles by Catholic saints and martyrs. Most modern miracles of an earlier date than the restoration of the order of Jesuits by Pius VII. in 1814—after forty years of suspended animation in Russia*—had been performed through the intercession of living saints, and occasionally, though perhaps more rarely, by relics, sacred images, or some other visible material agency, acting as a conductor of the divine energy. Apparitions and revelations of the Virgin, the creation of wonder-working springs by her, and the like, though certainly far from new, are more especially characteristic of the thaumaturgy of the present day. The miracles of the "Flos Sanctorum" are chiefly of the former class, and the

* When the society of Jesuits was suppressed in 1773, many of the order took refuge in Russia, where they were allowed by the Government to exist in a partially organized and unostentatious form, until their restoration in 1814. So long as they were persecuted by the papacy they were protected by Russia, and, doubtless, in some way made useful to her tortuous policy; but as soon as they were restored by the pope, they were expelled from the Russian territories.

Virgin is far from playing an important part in the mythology of that collection. But we shall return to this point hereafter.

The supernatural interventions most in vogue in Catholic countries are, naturally enough, miracles of healing, as is abundantly testified by the multitudes of crutches, waxen limbs, pictures of remarkable deliverances, and other ex-votos suspended at the most frequented shrines of popular superstition. The saints of Catholicism would furnish a very complete *materia medica thaumaturgica.* Many saints have been, and are, general practitioners in medicine; others, what are now called specialists; and there is hardly a human malady which has not its particular combatant and conqueror in the ranks of the apotheosized. Thus St. Vitus, who is simply the heathen Slavic god Swantowit, under a Romanized name, cures the spasmodic convulsions known as St. Vitus's dance; Santa Lucia has a double vocation, healing the diseased eyes of her votaries, and protecting them against fire;* St. Liborius is so efficacious in stone and gravel, that the mere translation of his relics to Amelia—the inhabitants of which were almost universally, *ferè omnes*, afflicted with that evil—banish-

* "Flos Sanctorum," vol. i., p. 460.

ed the disease from the city so completely that a case was never afterward heard of within its precincts;* St. Simon Stylita is sovereign in imposthumes; Santa Barbara, whose persecutors, including her own father, were killed by a thunder-bolt, is a sure refuge against lightning, and it is her consequent partiality for explosions which has caused her to be chosen as the patroness of artillerists, and to be complimented by the bestowal of her name on naval powder-magazines, which the French call "Sainte Barbe;" Andrea Avellino has, at Messina, a temple dedicated to him as *contra apoplexin opifero Sospitatori*, and his life is so remarkable that the editor of the Latin edition of the "Flos Sanctorum" of 1721 thought it worth while to devote no fewer than twenty-three folio pages to an account of it. This saint excited the wrath of the great enemy by crossing himself, when a puling infant in the cradle, and was ever after a marked object of Satanic hatred and persecution. Not only was he daily and hourly beset with temptations during his whole life, but the adversary, in the shape of an ugly, ragged vagabond, *virum abominabili vultu, fœdè dilaceratis indutum vestibus*, followed him to his final agony, and tried to intercept

* "Flos Sanctorum," vol. iii., p. 414.

his fleeting spirit in his latest breath. His judicious biographer thinks that Satan would probably have fetched his soul at last, but for the intervention of a handsome young gentleman, *elegantissimâ formâ juvenis*—of course an angel in disguise—who came to the rescue at the critical moment, threw a halter set with sharp spikes over the head of the foul fiend, and dragged him out through the solid wall of the dying man's cell, belaboring him lustily the while with a stout shillalah, *multis et gravibus verberibus.** Still more precocious than St. Andrea Avellino was St. Vincenzo Ferrer, who yelped like a puppy in his mother's womb, to the great consternation of that excellent matron, who was comforted only by the assurance of the Archbishop of Valencia that this *quasi catuli latratus* indicated that the unborn babe would, in time, defend the flock of the Lord, and drive away the wolves by his energetic barking. St. Vincenzo Ferrer performed above eight hundred and sixty miracles, chiefly in the way of healing, all duly attested and recorded. Among his other graces he possessed the gift of tongues, for, though preaching only in his native Valencian, every foreigner heard him in his own language.†

* "Flos Sanctorum," vol. ii., pp. 139–148.

† *Id.*, vol. iii., p. 642. Carlos Ros justly attaches much importance

The supernatural gifts of the saints have been by no means confined to the remedy of disease. The recovery of stolen goods by holy men was formerly very common, and King Ferdinand of Spain not only excelled in general detective police, but he was particularly, *præsertim*, resorted to in cases of *drapetomania*, being, by special grace, very successful in catching runaway slaves, a virtue formerly much in request in certain quarters, but now fallen somewhat into discredit. The kindness of this saint to animals was such, that, when he had arrested heretics and caused them to be condemned to the flames, he was used to spare the oxen the labor of drawing fuel for the pile by carrying the wood on his own blessed shoulders.*

These examples are all taken from the authorized Latin edition of the "Flos Sanctorum" above refer-

to this fact as proving that the dialect of Valencia is truly "apostolic." Indeed, the Holy Virgin herself employed Valencian, at the time of her visit to Elx, in giving instructions respecting the observance of her festival at that city. The original document, together with a picture of the Assumption, is still, we believe, preserved at Elx in a casket, provided by the Virgin to contain it. The use of Valencian by the Virgin is not surprising, for we have the testimony of the learned theologian, Vicente Marco, to the fact that it was one of the seventy-two languages spoken at Babel before the confusion of tongues, which it happily survived.

* "Flos Sanctorum," vol. iii., pp. 293, 300, 308.

red to; but though it would seem that human folly can go no further, they may at least be paralleled, if not surpassed, in absurdity by thousands of other cases recorded in writings published, and industriously circulated at this day, under the direct personal sanction of the highest authorities of the Romish Church, including, in many cases, the popes themselves.

Take, for example, the history of the Holy House of Loreto, a legend dating, indeed, as early as the fourteenth century, but to which little importance was attached before the pontificate of Sixtus V. This structure, though not in any of its features resembling the ancient architecture of the East, is affirmed to be the original mansion of Joseph and Mary, and, consequently, the home in which the infancy and youth of the Saviour were spent. For three centuries it has been visited annually by many thousands of pilgrims; and before the invasion of Italy by the French, near the close of the last century, it had accumulated from their offerings a treasure of precious objects supposed to be unsurpassed by any collection of valuables in the world. According to the legend, the house was transported by angels from Nazareth to the east coast of the Adriatic in the twelfth century, removed twice or thrice afterward

in the same miraculous manner, and at last definitively settled at Loreto, not far from the port of Ancona. After Loreto fell into the hands of the infidel Piedmontese in 1860, and especially after the negotiation of the convention of September 15th, 1864, which was interpreted as a final surrender of the claims of Italy to the national capital, there was a wide-spread expectation among the ignorant that the sacred house would flit to Rome, where, under the protection of the pontiff and the pious Napoleon III., the somewhat irregular but accepted eldest Son of the Church, it would be safe from Sub-alpine aggression. The miracle not being performed as was hoped, it was proposed that, since the mountain would not come to Mohammed, Mohammed should go to the mountain, and accordingly that the Casa Santa should be taken down and carried piecemeal by human agency to the Vatican gardens. The occupation of Rome by the Italian troops in 1870 naturally defeated this project.

Few relics are more highly venerated than the Holy Coat of Treves, alleged to be one of the garments of Christ for which the soldiers cast lots at the crucifixion, and to have been discovered at Jerusalem by St. Helena. There are various traditional accounts of the finding of this garment and its removal to Europe, the oldest of which occurs in the works

of Gregory of Tours, under the date of A.D. 596. The reconciling of the conflicting statements in regard to the place of deposit of this relic has cost Catholic investigators much trouble, there being no fewer than ten "holy coats" at different shrines, each asserted to be the only genuine garment, and all invested with about equal miraculous powers. Leo X., in 1514, decided in favor of the coat of Treves as the veritable relic, and, of course, gave it great prominence; but in 1843 Pope Gregory XVI. declared the coat at Argenteuil to be the authentic piece of raiment. The difficulty is easily solved by the supposition of a miraculous multiplication of the garment; and, indeed, we do not see why there might not be ten holy coats as easily as two heads of John the Baptist. The coat at Treves disappeared soon after the time of Gregory of Tours, and did not come to light again until the year 1196, when it is alleged to have been found in a vault discovered in the course of repairs of the cathedral. It is now believed by profane archæologists to be the mantle of a priest of Baal, or, perhaps, more probably of the Druse religion. Some of the pilgrimages to this shrine have numbered hundreds of thousands of votaries, and that of 1844 is particularly memorable as the occasion of the German Catholic movement initiated by Rouge.

This agitation threatened even more serious danger to Rome than the Old Catholic reform of the present day, until it was put down by the Protestant governments of Germany, whose policy it then was to sustain the papacy as a political ally.*

Before entering upon two important phases of modern superstition to which we shall soon refer, we will premise an account of some other remarkable recent legends; and we ask particular attention to the life of the Jesuit Anchieta, as an example of the puerile and irreverent character of modern hagiology, and to the veneration paid to the relics of St. Philomena, as an instance of the facility with which, even in the nineteenth century, the recognition of purely imaginary personages, as saints, martyrs, and miracle-workers, can be secured under the auspices of the Church of Rome.

The blessed Father Anchieta, a native of Teneriffe, was one of the early adepts of the Society of Jesuits, and became celebrated as the "Apostle of Brazil," where most of his life was spent in missionary labors.

* It is only since the declaration of papal infallibility that the platonic billing and cooing between Rome and Prussia has ceased. When the assembling of the Ecumenical Council of 1869 was announced, the King of Prussia (now Emperor of Germany) sent to His Holiness Pius IX. a magnificent carpet, to be spread under the pontifical throne in the council hall.

He was beatified by a decree of Pope Clement XII. in 1736, and the testimony on which the decree was founded, as existing in the records of the process for that purpose in the Vatican, is contained in his life, published at Rome in 1738, with all the regular licenses and sanctions. As the author of the life boasts with reason, no saint has ever appeared on the stage of the world attended by a more "splendid retinue of miracles," and hence Anchieta is naturally considered as emphatically the "thaumaturgist of his age." Healing the sick and raising the dead were matters of such familiar, every-day practice with Anchieta that they soon ceased to attract notice among his contemporaries. Their jaded palates constantly required new stimulus to keep their appetite for the marvelous at the proper pitch. Hence, our saint was constrained to resort to grotesque and fantastic miracles, occasionally much resembling the exploits of modern spiritistic mediums, and often performed, not for any purpose of edification, but in mere wantonness of spirit. Thus, at the game of the goose—which consists in giving the neck of the poor bird a twist as the contestants run by it, the one who bestows the fatal wrench being the victor—a quarrel having arisen as to the person entitled to the prize, a deaf-and-dumb boy spoke, at the command of Father

Anchieta, and claimed the goose as his own. This "miracle" says our author, "diverted" the assembled crowd more than any other sport of the day. His biographer cites the following wonder as particularly "funny," *lepido*. While ascending a river, his companions shot several monkeys from the boat. Anchieta ordered them not to kill any more of the animals, but to amuse themselves with the mourning of the survivors. He then summoned the rest of the troop to bewail the dead, which they did in chorus, with such awkward tumbles, such uncouth cries and contortions, and such "most ridiculous gestures and grimaces," as hugely to delight the humane spectators, and the monkeys continued the exhibition till Anchieta dismissed them with his blessing. When walking in the sun, he would summon flocks of birds to hover over his head and keep pace with him, performing the part of a parasol. When preaching at the city of Espirito Santo, he was always attended by a couple of large tamed birds, whose office it was to perch on the belfry of the church, and warn him by loud cries when he was in danger of wearying the patience of his audience by spinning his spiritual yarn to too great a length. He would travel for miles at the height of several palms above the ground, and he often thus performed journeys of

many hours in a few minutes; he was present at different places, leagues apart, at the same instant; was occasionally crowned with a halo of light; produced fine musical concerts on invisible instruments played by unseen hands; could read the thoughts of others, describe events happening at the moment in distant continents, and was endowed with the gift of prophesy. The proof of these "heroic" virtues was satisfactory to the sovereign pontiff, and Anchieta was beatified accordingly.

Among the late accessions to the saintly circle, the martyr Philomena is, perhaps, the favorite, and her praises have been sung even by Protestant poets. The story is so generally known that we shall probably surprise few of our readers by saying that there is no historical proof, nor even a tradition, of the existence of such a person. Still the history is curious, and deserves something more than a passing mention. We shall therefore give a few details from the most authentic possible source, the "Historical Relation of the Translation of the Sacred Body of St. Philomena, Virgin and Martyr," by Dr. Francesco di Lucia, the first private possessor of the relics, published at Benevento, in three volumes, octavo, in 1834, and *visé* by authority of the Archbishop, and the Apostolic Delegate of Benevento. The work is written, as the

author justly boasts, with such "simplicity as to be intelligible to the commonest capacity, even of a silly woman," *ad ogni triviale ingegno, anche d' una femminella.* In the year 1805, this reverend gentleman, while at Rome on a professional "commission for procuring relics, especially of martyrs," *con impegno di sagre reliquie, specialmente di martiri,* received an offer of a very desirable subject, being no less than the entire skeleton of a female martyr, but was obliged to decline the proposal at first for want of sufficient funds.* Afterward encouragement from friends, and the force of a "clear inspiration," *chiara ispirazione,* moved him to accept the offer with the single stipulation that the relic should be a warranted "body of a holy [female] martyr, with a proper name," and "so," continues he, "my mind was relieved of all perplexity." He proceeds to inform his readers that when the bones of unknown martyrs are discovered, it is usual to bestow names upon them

* Rome drives a thriving trade in relics, and makes as good merchandise of the bones of Christian martyrs as the Egyptians do of the mummies of heathen Pharaohs and Potiphars. During the year 1874, straws from the dungeon mattress of the "Prisoner of the Vatican," Pius IX., lately visited in his darksome cell by a body of American pilgrims, all, we believe, of the Irish "persuasion," were much in request for exportation to France, where they compete in the market with a native product, the holy water of Lourdes, to an extent alarming to the patriotism of French commercial religion.

under a pontifical license; but in the case of St. Philomena, the real name was made out satisfactorily to the faithful, as we shall see hereafter. The reverend customer was taken to one of the public treasuries of relics in the custody of Monsignor Ponzetti, where, among many boxes of bones, he found three with names of reputed martyrs, one of these being that of St. Philomena. The "sweetness and suavity of the name" struck him powerfully. He was at once filled with an irresistible longing for these remains, and was indiscreet enough to betray his anxiety by the expression of his countenance, which, as he naïvely says, was observed by the guardian of the relics. He had little hope of accomplishing his wishes, because, on account of the occupancy of the city by the "enemy," the then infidel French, there was just at that time a great dearth, *scarsezza*, of relics *with names* at Rome, and good merchantable articles of this description were quoted at high prices accordingly. But the person who had introduced him to the monsignore promised him the body, and our hero committed the negotiation for it to this disinterested friend as a *mezzano*, or broker, which was, probably enough, his regular profession. The wily monsignore soon sent Dr. Di Lucia a message through the broker, informing him that he had

discerned visible tokens that the saint herself wished to accompany him to his province, and advising him by all means to secure the prize. He was naturally overjoyed at this intelligence, and at once closed the bargain for the remains, the delivery of which was promised for the next Saturday. But when

"Cool reflection at length came along,"

Monsignor Ponzetti felt that he had committed a commercial indiscretion in agreeing to part with so valuable a treasure to an eager customer on such easy conditions, and, by the advice of "crafty counselors" of his bureau, as Dr. Di Lucia shrewdly suspects, he flatly refused to fulfill his promise, and after much haggling and many shifts, to the bitter disgust, *amaro disgusto*, of our simple friend, he tantalized him by fobbing off upon him the body of a supposed martyr of an unmelodious name, and of comparatively small account, Santa Ferma. But this was a mere fetch, for as the Rev. Dr. Di Lucia, seeing, as he thought, that things would be no better, was beginning to reconcile himself to the acceptance of the substitute, and to make the most of a bad bargain, he learned that certain "most honored persons," including the broker, had succeeded in securing St. Philomena, not indeed for him, but for a friend of his, a

Neapolitan bishop, then, by the merest chance, lodging in the same house with him, and the sacred relics were actually brought to the bishop's apartment. This, of course, rekindled our hero's passionate desires, and after much tribulation an exchange of relics was effected on "terms not made public," but probably on the payment of a handsome consideration by way of boot, and the bishop and the doctor prepared to start for Naples together, in the same post-coach with their treasures. In stowing the luggage the postman had placed the case of St. Philomena's bones under the seat of the bishop, that of St. Ferma under Dr. Di Lucia's. The bishop, who was of "majestic" and voluminous obesity, was hoisted into the coach with difficulty, and had hardly taken his seat when he received several hard thumps—probably "spirit-knocks"—on his gouty legs. Whether the saint resented the trick that had been played on her votary, and did not like the proximity of one of the parties to the imposition, does not appear; but the knocks were several times sharply repeated, and his reverence, sore in the shins and a little conscience-stricken perhaps, was convinced that they came from the case of bones, though assured that it was so firmly chocked that any movement of it was impossible. He insisted on the removal of this troublesome neigh-

bor, and the case was transferred to a more satisfactory position, and, being tightly lashed with cords, remained quiet till it reached Naples.

The name of the martyr was discovered by an inscription painted on three fragmentary slabs of baked clay found near the relics, and containing the words or syllables "*Lumena, fi, pax, te, cum*," with representations of several arrows, an object called a scourge, and other symbols. Incredulous persons suggested that all this was hardly sufficient to prove that the bones were those of St. Philomena, a Christian martyr never before heard of; but the solid argument that the testimony was quite as clear and conclusive as in most other cases of the invention of relics was held to be a satisfactory reply to these captious objections. But the relics, though thus proved to be genuine, still lacked a history, without which their acquisition might turn out but an indifferent speculation to the purchaser. This embarrassment was happily removed by the saint herself, who complaisantly appeared to a "most zealous ecclesiastic," *zelantissimo sacerdote*, and recited the story of her life, the most important fact of which was, that she was put to death for refusing the hand of a heathen emperor. This devout and favored priest communicated the revelation to our author, both orally and in

writing, so that the chain of evidence is complete and irrefragable. After this it is perhaps superfluous to add that the martyr has furnished abundant additional evidence of her sanctity by an almost unbroken succession of miracles from the translation of her relics to the present day.* In fact, the saint appears to have given her votaries rather too much of a good thing, and Dr. Di Lucia evidently thinks that *Ne quid nimis* is a rule she would do well to follow. "I am obliged to confess," says he—vol. ii., p. 91—"that her miracles have lost something of their prestige, *ammirabilità*, from their very frequency."

The most conspicuous, as well as the grossest, case of pure material worship in modern times is that of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This cultus was organized and zealously propagated by the Jesuits, and, though lately hard pushed by the rival pretensions of the Virgin of La Salette, and now

* St. Philomena, who, as well as Anchieta, is complimented with the appellation of "the thaumaturgist of her age," appears to have recently transferred the sphere of her operations to the congenial soil of France, and to have formed a working partnership with the Rev. Mr. Vianney, who died in 1859 as curate of Ars, a small town in the French Department of Ain, and who has acquired an immense local reputation by the miracles he is performing in anticipation of canonization. The devotees who make the pilgrimage to La Salette often visit the tomb of the curate, and offer up their prayers to him in conjunction with St. Philomena, as a preparation for the higher exercises of La Salette.

more especially by those of Our Lady of Lourdes, it has long formed a leading feature in the machinery, the *deus ex machinâ*, of the scenic manifestations of the Society of Jesus. Pascal's celebrated "Provincial Letters," the last of which appeared in 1657, had given the order an almost fatal blow, and its managers saw that nothing could save it but a vigorous effort to divert the mind of the Catholic world from dwelling on the moral considerations so powerfully urged by their great assailant, and turn the current of religious thought into a new and more sensational direction. About the year 1670, the revelations of a weak-minded nun, Marguerite Marie Alacoque, suffering under an aggravated form of heart-disease, came very opportunely to their relief, if not indeed, as there is strong reason to believe, directly inspired by the Jesuit La Colombière, confessor of Mary Alacoque and other nuns in the Visitandine Convent of Paray-le-Monial, where Mary was professed.* Asse-

* Loyola had positively forbidden the members of the company to assume the control of female convents; but the good fathers had managed to evade the prohibition with their usual dexterity. They had allowed the bishop to appoint other religious *directors* for their convents; but every nun had the right to choose an extraordinary *confessor*, and they contrived in almost all cases to have this choice fall upon one of themselves.

Mary Alacoque's revelations on the subject of obedience to her spiritual superiors could have been inspired only by a Jesuit oracle.

line, the author of the remarkable historical essay, "Marie Alacoque et le Sacré Cœur," agrees with some earlier writers in supposing that the Jesuits were indebted to the writings of Goodwin, a celebrated English Puritan divine of the seventeenth century, for the invention of this new and degrading form of superstitious homage. He asserts that Goodwin preached that the heart of Jesus, "that part of the body in which Christ had deigned to incarnate himself," ought to be an object of special worship; and for proof of this affirmation he refers in general terms to a Latin translation of Goodwin's "The Heart of Christ in Heaven toward Sinners on Earth," which—as he says, has been shown by Father Giorgi, an opponent of the Jesuits—proves an entire conformity between Goodwin's views of the Sacred Heart and those of the nun.

La Colombière had been chaplain to the Duchess of York after the Restoration, and, doubtless, must have at least heard of the opinions of Goodwin, then considered the ablest defender of the Puritan faith

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Jesus appeared to Mary Alacoque, and said to her, "I am pleased that you prefer the will of your superiors to mine when they forbid you to do what I should have commanded."

"The splendid simplicity of obedience is lost when we ask ourselves whether the thing commanded us is right or wrong." See Asseline, "Marguerite Marie Alacoque et le Sacré Cœur," Paris, 1873.

in England. La Colombière, it is said, suggested to his brethren that the *culte grossier* advocated by Goodwin would appeal powerfully to the vulgar imagination, and prove an efficient instrument in the dexterous hands of the society. The Jesuits indignantly repelled Father Giorgi's charge of theological plagiarism, and claimed for themselves, in the name of their *protégée*, entire originality of invention in the new revelation. The point is of interest in the history of modern religious opinion, and we have taken the pains to investigate it by an examination of Goodwin's "Heart of Christ," and his other works, the original editions of which we have had an opportunity of consulting. Our judgment is certainly not biased by partiality for the Jesuits, but simple justice requires us to say that this charge of borrowing heretical opinions from a Puritan, urged against them by their opponents, seems to us without any solid foundation. Goodwin, indeed, held, in common with most Christians of all churches at that period, that Christ had risen in the flesh, and has a perpetual corporeal existence in heaven. He also entertained the then common opinion, that the heart is the seat of the affections; and he argues that all the bodily organs of Christ are still acted upon by his emotions in the same way as during his incarna-

tion on earth, except that his celestial frame is free from the grossnesses and weaknesses to which his earthly body was subject. In accordance with this analogy between the modes of Christ's terrestrial and his heavenly being, Goodwin maintains that his moral essence, though exempt from all painful passions and disturbances, is full of love and compassion for men, and of hatred of sin; and, consequently, that the Redeemer in heaven sympathizes with fallen and suffering humanity in a mode and to an extent of which a mere disembodied spirit could not be capable. But we are unable to find in the works of Goodwin any thing which countenances the worship of Christ's body as distinct from his spiritual being, still less any thing recommending or sanctioning the adoration of any organ or attribute of his person. On the other hand, Father Gallifet declares in his "Excellence de la Dévotion au Sacré Cœur," as quoted by Asseline: "We mean the heart of Jesus in its proper and natural, not at all in its metaphorical, signification. Jesus Christ speaks of his heart, taken in a real sense. This is evident from his exposing and showing his heart. It is this heart which he wills us to honor and to celebrate. It is the sensuous, *sensible*, object of the devotion which Christ is now establishing."—ASSELINE, p. 39. So in a devotional man-

ual, published at Saint Sulpice, in 1782, it is said: "This devotion is addressed solely to the heart of Jesus Christ, without any reference to the rest of the sacred body. *Heart* must be taken in its natural signification. This is the sensuous, *sensible*, object of the devotion which Jesus wills to establish." Many writers on the Devotion to the Sacred Heart employ more cautious language; but it is perfectly clear, from the general tenor of the devotional treatises on this subject, that they are really advocating a strictly material worship. But while we acquit Goodwin of having originated this cultus, we must admit that there is enough of materialism, not particularly in his views, but in those of all who believe in the resurrection and permanent existence of the body of Christ, to furnish a *point d'appui* for Jesuit ingenuity to rest a new fetichism upon. Although, therefore, Goodwin's works can not be cited as the original source of the devotion to the heart of Christ, it is possible that the wide-spread reputation of his writings may have induced La Colombière to study them, and that he derived from them suggestions which he and his brethren perverted to profitable account in bringing forward a new object of adoration.

Whatever may have been the origin of this new dispensation—for in practice it has been little less—

it is perhaps the masterpiece of Jesuit invention, and, both directly and through the proselytism of the schools established in its name in Europe and the United States, it has done more to revive the flagging zeal of indifferent Catholics, and to secure perverts from Protestantism, than any other contrivance in the whole enginery of the society.

The literature of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, which is surpassed in folly, vulgarity, and indecency by few chapters in the history of the religious aberrations of the human intellect and heart, is well exemplified in the early unmutilated editions of the "Vie de Marie Alacoque," by Languet, Bishop of Soissons, a man despised by his contemporaries for his stupidity, detested by the clergy of his own diocese for his brutality and perverseness, and severely condemned by the most enlightened of his episcopal brethren.* The work is, indeed, well worthy of

* De Caylus, Bishop of Auxerre, wrote thus of Languet's book: "The life of Mary Alacoque is undoubtedly, in all respects, one of the worst books of its class that have ever appeared; it is revolting to every one, whether in the Church or out of it. It has roused the indignation and horror of good men. Libertines have made it the subject of raillery. I do not think it becoming even to speak of the amorous dialogues which are supposed to pass between Jesus Christ and Mary Alacoque; nor can I dwell upon the visions of this girl—visions always full of extravagance and impiety. Everywhere, in the style of this prelate, Jesus Christ employs the language of human passion to declare his love to Mary Alacoque. I am far from believing

such a character. Ridicule and criticism compelled Languet to retrench some absurdities in later is-

that such forms of speech—as sensual as they are indecent—may not mislead many souls and make them mistake the illusions of the flesh for the movements of the spirit."

The following extracts will serve to show that the judgment of the Bishop of Auxerre was not too severe:

Marie says of herself that at the age of *four* years she had a lively sense of the virtue of chastity, and "the sight of *men* so wounded her modesty, and alarmed her innocence," that she would have fled into the desert but for the fear of meeting them even there.—LANGUET, lib. i., ch. iii.

"Our Lord showed me that this was the day of our spiritual betrothal; he afterward made me understand that he wished me to taste all that was most sweet in the tender caresses of his love. In fact, these divine caresses were from this time forward so overpowering that they made me quite beside myself, and rendered me almost incapable of any physical exertion, and it was a subject of such strange embarrassment to me that I dared not show myself."—LANGUET, lib. ii., ch. xix.

Jesus presses the head of Mary Alacoque tenderly to his own breast, addresses her in impassioned language, and reveals to her his purpose of establishing the worship of the Sacred Heart. Still more, he opens the side of the Visitandine, takes out her heart very carefully, places it by the side of his own, "which, through the wound in his side, appeared to me as bright as the sun, or as a glowing furnace," and, after having given it this taste of flame, he replaces it in the breast of his well-beloved servant.—LANGUET, lib. iv., ch. li.

At a mass which he was celebrating for the sisterhood, Father La Colombière experienced an astonishing movement of divine love. "At the same time, our Lord showed Sister Mary his divine heart under the symbol of a glowing furnace; but she saw also two other hearts which were about to unite there and lose themselves in it, and at the same moment he caused her to hear these words from within, 'It is thus that my holy love unites these three holy hearts forever.' And two of these hearts were that of Father La Colombière and her

sues,* but the book, as it is now republished and circulated by tens of thousands, is fit for no readers but the inmates of an asylum for cretins.

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own. Margaret hastened to relate the fact to the Jesuit, '*who was much confused by it.*'"—LANGUET, lib. iv., ch. lvii.

"The Sovereign High-priest," says Marguerite, "requested me to make in his favor a written testament or bequest, entire and without reserve, of all that I might do or suffer, and of all the prayers or spiritual benefit which others might offer or obtain for me, either during my life or after my death. He told me to ask my superior if she would serve as notary in drawing up this act, *for which he promised to pay her substantially;* if she refused, I was to address myself to Father La Colombière. But my superior accepted."—LANGUET, lib. iv., ch. lxxii.

Jesus, delighted at this bequest, and not wishing to be in arrears to her, dictates to Margaret—who writes all with her own blood—the following instrument drawn up in celestial notary style: "I constitute thee heir of my heart for time and for eternity, permitting thee to make use of it according to thy desire. I promise thee that thou shalt never lack succor until I lack power. Thou shalt be forever the beloved disciple, the plaything of my heart's good pleasure, the holocaust of its love. That alone shall be the object of all thy desires. It shall repair and supply all thy deficiencies, and acquit thee of all thy obligations."—LANGUET, lib. v., ch. lxxii.

The Mother of God appeared to Marie Alacoque one day with her Divine Son in her lap. She presented the babe to her faithful disciple, and allowed her to fondle it and hold it in her arms.—LANGUET, lib. iii., ch. xliv.

* Such, for example, as when he makes Christ say that it is enough not to hate God, and when he relates that the Virgin, after having swept the dormitory for Sister Margaret, while she was playing the truant, administered to the lazy girl, on her return, two sound boxes on the ear.—ASSELINE, p. 33.

III.

ROMISH HAGIOLOGY UNDER POPE PIUS IX.

After the census of Great Britain in 1871, Carlyle said, "England has twenty-three million souls, mostly fools." The average standard of intelligence is not higher in France, we suppose, than among *ces estimables insulaires* on the other side of the Channel. Religious *gobe-mouches* certainly seem to be more common among the Gauls than among the Sassenachs; but such monstrous follies as those of Paray-le-Monial were long found too nauseating a dose for the receptivity of even the most superstitious classes in France. The genuineness of Mary Alacoque's inspirations were strenuously denied by the most judicious portion of the French clergy, and the question was acrimoniously debated at Rome, with varying success, for two centuries. Pius IX., ever "good at need," on the 23d of August, 1846, declared by solemn decree that the nun had practiced the "heroic" virtues ascribed to her; on the 24th of May, 1864, by another decree, affirmed the truth and reality of

the miracles attributed to her intercession; and on the 19th of August, 1864, pronounced her beatification. The devotees of the Sacré Cœur were not satisfied with this simple recognition by the papacy, and they have long been agitating for a more solemn and formal act which should completely identify this devotion with the highest worship authorized by the Romish Church. The signatures (entered in thirty magnificent volumes) of twelve million petitioners for such an act,* including seven hundred bishops, heads of religious houses, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, were presented to the pope, who, on the 22d of April, 1875, pronounced a decree consecrating the Universal Catholic Church to the Sacred Heart, thus making the acceptance of this devotion a cardinal

* When we remember that as late as 1867 the Minister of Public Instruction reported that there were districts in France in which sixty-seven per cent. of the bridegrooms and ninety-eight per cent. of the brides married at the municipalities were unable to write their names, we can not help doubting whether these twelve million signatures were all genuine. Perhaps it is a case of miraculous multiplication, or we may suppose that most of the names were originally subscribed to petitions to other authorities, and for other purposes, and have been judiciously employed to strengthen this by *transfer*, as in the case of indulgences *per modum suffragii*. But if they were genuine, the fact is even more disgraceful. That one-third of the entire population could be induced to subscribe such a petition would be an evidence of a state of religious, moral, and intellectual culture more pitiable than the blankest ignorance.

feature of the religion of Rome. On the 28th of April, this decree, and the formal Act of Dedication issued by the Congregation of Rites on the 26th of the same month, were published in the *Osservatore Romano*, and in the *Voce della Verità;* and on the 1st of June the cardinal vicar issued an *Invito Sacro*, exhorting the faithful throughout the Catholic world, in the name of the Holy Father, to recite the formula of consecration to the Sacred Heart on the 16th of June, "the thirtieth anniversary of his [Pope Pius IX.'s] assumption of the Supreme Pontificate, and second centenary of the revelation made by the Divine Redeemer to the blessed Marguerite to propagate the Devotion to his Sacred Heart."

The dedication was formally celebrated in St. Peter's and the other principal churches of Rome, and the services in the Gesù, the official church of the Jesuits, were conducted with the utmost pomp and splendor. There were pilgrimages to Paray-le-Monial and other celebrations of the occasion in France, and the new "national" church on Montmartre was formally dedicated to the Sacré Cœur by Cardinal Archbishop Guibert in person.

But, in spite of all this, there was somewhere a difficulty not yet explained; for, notwithstanding the notoriousness of these facts, the *Semaine Religieuse*,

a journal published at Paris under the authority of Cardinal Guibert himself, asserted that the pope put by the thirty volumes of signatures, with the declaration *nil innovandum*, and refused to comply with the request. French journalism, including even the *Journal des Débats*, accepted this authoritative denial of the consecration, and it was for some days generally believed in Paris that no such decree had been pronounced. What does the "candid" Dr. Newman think of such proceedings?

It is a fact which does little credit to the intelligence of the governing classes in France, that the Devotion to the Sacred Heart has been accepted by them as emphatically an aristocratic religion. Its early annals belong to the Golden Age of French history, when the king was the State, the nobility the nation, and the struggling mass of humanity beneath had no recognized existence for any other purpose than laboring for their feudal lords, lay and ecclesiastical, paying taxes, and serving as foot-soldiers in the wars. It was invented under the Grand Monarque; its origin was very nearly contemporaneous with the crowning glory of French Catholicism, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and it owes its conception to the same influence—the inspiration of the Jesuit fraternity. It was especially patronized

by the *fine fleur* of the old *régime*, and at the present day every legitimist pays his most fervent adoration at the shrine of the Sacred Heart. It has now a vast importance as a political engine. Every one of the twelve million zealous worshipers who lately subscribed a petition to Pius IX. to dedicate the Universal Church to the Sacred Heart is pledged to use his utmost efforts not only for the extinction of heresy, but for the restoration of the temporal power of the papacy, and in general for the return of the olden line of the Bourbon dynasty.*

* Louis XIV., whose reign has lately been extolled by Monsignor Nardi as a model of truly Christian, prosperous, and beneficent government, was a most devout and constant worshiper according to the discipline of the Romish Church. His numerous works of supererogation, including the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the *dragonnades* against the Protestants of his kingdom, the judicial murders of persons professing the Reformed religion, and other pious acts scarcely less praiseworthy than the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's Day under Charles IX., had inspired him with a conscious feeling of a *right* to the divine favor in all his enterprises. Hence it was not strange that in the reverses of his old age he should, referring to these meritorious works, have pathetically exclaimed, "How can God treat me thus, after all I have done for him!" Extremes meet. King Louis, like many a Romish zealot of the present day, though a virulent hater of Protestantism, was very tolerant of infidelity. When one of his generals, at the commencement of a campaign, proposed to offer a confidential post on his staff to an officer not conspicuous for his piety: "That will never do," said the king; "he is of the Religion" [a Protestant]. "Of the Religion, your majesty!" replied the general; "he does not even believe in a God." "Oh, very well," said the king, "then you may take him." See Appendix VIII.

In all the pilgrimages to Paray-le-Monial, in all the processions in honor of Mary Alacoque, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons, with their spouses and their varletry, largely figure; and though it is not as universally true of the Frenchman as of the Englishman that he "loves a lord," yet all "right-thinking" people in France are much influenced by the evident predilection of those highest in blood and in fashion for the royal religion.* The participation of officers of high rank, in full regimentals, in these manifestations is, to a certain extent, official; for military escorts and salutes, with martial music, are an *obligé* accompaniment of every ecclesiastical and civil demonstration in France. We do not know that the worship of the Sacred Heart is yet a part of the general *consigne* of the

* France professes to recognize the legal equality of Protestant and Catholic churches, and has no national, no State religion; but the recent action of the Legislative Assembly, prompted by Jesuit influence, in declaring the construction of a church dedicated to the Sacred Heart, on the heights of Montmartre, to be a work of "public utility," is very nearly equivalent to a formal recognition of that devotion as the religion of the State. By virtue of that declaration, the Archbishop of Paris, as trustee of the projected church, is empowered to expropriate private property which he may deem convenient for its use. The *Univers* of February, 1875, states that eighteen parcels of real estate, amounting in all to about thirty acres, will be taken from their proprietors for that purpose. — MICHAUD, *L'Église Catholique-Romaine*, p. 179. Would a similar declaration have been made in favor of a Protestant Church?

French soldiery, but the military are making themselves extremely conspicuous, even when out of the ranks, as ardent supporters of Jesuit principles and policy. As a general rule, soldiers rely chiefly on the *ultima ratio* as a means of producing moral and political conviction, and think it superfluous to cultivate the arts of oratory; but in the present military service of France every pompon "hath found a tongue," and many of the most efficient apostles of the Sacred Heart and the Virgin of Lourdes, as well as of *sound* principles of civil government, are to be found among gentlemen who trail the sabre and glitter in stamped buttons and scarlet trousers. Captain de Mun, of the French army, is one of the most conspicuous among the oratorical champions of "the throne and the altar." In a speech delivered in 1873, Captain de Mun said: "I affirm that the brutal dogma of equality is a lie; I denounce it as a danger..... It has given birth to the insane theory according to which all offices ought to be open to all, and that all have the right to participate in the government of the commonwealth..... It is not true that the direction of the commonwealth, the exercise of authority, is not the lawful privilege, the hereditary prerogative, of certain classes..... After the civil constitution of the clergy, the greatest crime of the Revo-

lution was the abolition of the corporations [trade-guilds which had the exclusive right of exercising their callings, according to their own regulations]..... The day will come when the vile horde of revolutionists .... will be reduced to utter the imprecation of the apostate, 'Galilæan, thou hast conquered!' Ah, for them no mercy; they are not the people, they are hell itself." In 1874, Captain de Mun preached a lay sermon to a working-men's club, in which he defended the Papal Syllabus; and in 1874, at the congress at Lyons, Captain de La Tour, of Chambly, argued that social doctrine was sufficiently defined by the Syllabus. Many other military men take part in behalf of Rome in public politico-religious discussion; and the Jesuits, who do not scruple to declare that the great question between the Church and the world is to be decided by physical force, are doing their utmost to flatter and cajole the army, and to strengthen their influence with that branch of the public service in France. Cardinal de la Tour d'Auvergne, Bishop of Arras, wrote to the clergy of his diocese in reference to the election of president of the republic in 1848, "I shall vote for a sabre;" and the Bishop of Angers declared, in 1875, "The sword surmounted by the cross is the true symbol of Christian civilization." The Jesuits have organized

an association under the name of The Militia of the Pope, which has a great number of members in the religious seminaries. In that of St. Pierre-sous-Rodez, in 1868, out of 184 pupils, 177 had been in the papal military service, as zouaves, soldiers of the legion of Antibes, etc., and the 260 pupils of the seminary of Notre Dame de Polignan had all, without exception, served in one or the other of those capacities. The *Univers*, the leading ultramontane journal of France, declared, on the 18th of February, 1875, that the Company of Jesus "is henceforth intimately connected with our military school," that of St. Cyr; and a noticeable fact connected with this point is, that though in 1859 the military school of St. Cyr received but five pupils who had been trained by the Jesuits, the number of their *elèves* admitted at St. Cyr rose to 24 in 1864, to 49 in 1869, to 99, besides 35 received at the Polytechnic School, in the academic year 1873–'74. From 1854 to 1874, out of 3207 pupils of the single Jesuit school of the St. Geneviève, more than one-third passed into the Government military and naval academies; and in 1875 no fewer than 688 officers, who had been prepared at this one school, were serving in the army.*

* Recent statistics inform us that at the end of the year 1875 there

The success of the schools of the Sacred Heart, as instruments of religious propagandism, has encouraged the Jesuits to renewed effort to secure a monopoly of public instruction throughout the Christian world. Their triumph in the struggle against the national universities of France, in the passage of the recent law permitting the establishment of what, by an odd perversion of language, are called "free" universities, is a signal proof of the controlling influence exercised by the society in France. But this is only a first step. The next is to be the legal suppression of all public schools except those controlled and administered by the Church. Pius IX. declared to the Emperor Maximilian that "*all* instruction, *whether public or private*, ought to be directed and supervised by the ecclesiastical authority;"* and in 1868 the Bishop of Périgueux informed his clergy that "it is upon the Church, and her *alone*, that Christ has conferred the right, and imposed the duty, of imparting instruction to men..... Every man engaged in teaching is in conscience bound to accept her supervision and control." Citations of this kind from authoritative

were in France 140,000 friars and nuns, and that out of 447,112 girls in the schools 356,000 were taught by nuns, and only 91,000 in lay schools.

* The Austrian Concordat of 1855, repudiated by the emperor in 1870, contained a provision to this effect.

sources might be multiplied indefinitely; but though the pretensions of the Romish Church in this respect have been so often and so fully exposed, it is not yet a work of supererogation to adduce proof of the arrogance of her demands, or even, unhappily, of the portentous success with which these claims have been urged in many countries on both sides of the Atlantic.* The tendency and the deliberate aim of Jesuit instruction is everywhere the same—the suppression of the individual conscience and reason, of the sense of personal responsibility to any authority except that of the priest, and the substitution of a blind obedience to ecclesiastical dictation as the only rule of Christian faith, the only principle of moral action. The layman is to be to the priest what each member of the Society of Jesus is to his hierarchical superior, a soulless, will-less creature—not a person, but a thing—or, to use the language of one of their own apostles, *proinde ac cadaver*, an object as pliable and unre-

* The recent Romish attacks upon the public schools in the United States, and the arrogant demand of the priesthood for the appropriation of a large share of the school-fund to their sectarian purposes, are well known. The conduct of the Roman Catholic clergy at Montreal, in refusing burial to a Catholic for having belonged to a society whose library contained books condemned by the priesthood, is one of the most daring attempts to defy the law, the government, and the principles of Christian charity which we have heard of in North America.

sisting as a corpse. The thousand-times-repeated exposures of Jesuit policy from Pascal to our own day are generally little known in England and America, but there are many recent publications on this subject which deserve the most serious consideration by every friend of human liberty. Among these, besides Gladstone's "The Vatican Decrees" and "Vaticanism," Lavelaye's "Protestantism and Catholicism," with preface by Gladstone, are the work of Michaud, "L'Église Catholique Romaine en France," already cited; Jung's "La France et Rome;" the "Histoire Politique des Papes," by Lanfrey, the author of the scathing exposure of the life and character of the First Napoleon; "L'Église et les Philosophes du dix-huitième Siècle," also by Lanfrey; and the works of Gasparin—a writer inspired by an eminently enlightened conscience—"L'Ennemi de la Famille, Innocent III.," and his two posthumous volumes, "La France."*

* We will not be so disingenuous as to refer to the famous "Monita Secreta" as a genuine set of rules drawn up for the conduct of the Society of Jesuits by its authorized heads, but it is not unjust to recommend it as a fair exposure of the principles by which its members are guided. It is curious that this little volume disappears from the market as fast as new editions are published. The suppression of dangerous books by buying up the copies, requiring penitents to surrender or destroy them, and by other more questionable practices, accounts for the scarcity of many works of which large editions are known to have been printed. See Appendixes IX., X.

The free institutions of Europe and America are in serious danger from, we will not say the *religious*, but from what, for want of a better word, we are forced to call the *sectarian*, indifference of Christian and especially of political men. While we would be the first to denounce sectarian intolerance even on the part of Protestants, we do think that every intelligent man is bound to resist the first approaches of ecclesiastical encroachment and usurpation; and, now that the Vatican has openly proclaimed itself the enemy of all human liberty, it is the first among the political duties of a freeman to be on his guard against those who, by both open and secret measures, are assiduously laboring to sap the only foundations on which freedom can securely rest. The apathy and indifference of the Northern United States, of politicians who refused to believe that the rebellious threats and secession movements of the South were earnestly meant, well nigh cost the life of the nation; and the wounds received by the Union in that struggle will not be healed in a century. The danger of papal aggression on American liberties is as real, as obvious, and we may almost say as imminent, as was the pro-slavery war of 1861 a twelvemonth before it broke out. Let Americans jealous of their institutions be warned in time!

We have alluded to the arrogant claims of Rome to the exclusive control of the instruction of the young as one of her pretended "liberties." Not to speak further of the political agitation of this question in England and the United States, we think particular attention ought to be drawn to the mischievous character of the schools of the Sacred Heart and other institutions under Jesuit or at least monastic superintendence. Parents who care more for manners than for morals, and wish to prepare their daughters to figure in society rather than to form a true womanly character by solid instruction and such a moral education as recluses and celibates can never impart, are very often seduced by the showy but shallow and hollow training of the schools we refer to.* These schools all profess not to interfere in the least with the religion of their Protestant pupils, and their teachers are artful enough to conceal the ingenious devices by which they implant in the youthful mind germs which may lie dormant for years, but seldom fail to reveal themselves as noxious weeds in later life. The imperceptible bending of the twig in girl-

* The Visitandines have always been famous for great attention to manners. Gresset, the biographer of *Ver-vert*, sung, a hundred years ago:

"Les petits soins, les attentions fines,
Sont nés, dit-on, chez les Visitandines."

hood injuriously affects the proper development of the stem in womanhood. Every Catholic school in a Protestant country is a missionary, a propagandist instrument. The only safe course is to distrust the professions and the influence of those who offer to prove false to the principles and to the teachings of their own Church for the sake of attracting pupils from other religions.

The Devotion of the Sacred Heart lost much of its position in Catholic Europe during the suppression of the Jesuits; but after its restoration the society applied itself vigorously and successfully to the re-establishment of this important branch of its system of operations. Nevertheless, in the distraction of religious opinion and feeling in recent times, and especially since the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, appeals through the Sacred Heart sometimes failed to produce sufficient popular effect. Hence, though the governing classes in France long have been, and still are, ardent in this devotion, the stimulus of novelty was felt to be now and then needed to stir the torpid masses of the population to warmth and fervor, and the newly promulgated dogma was relied upon as likely to prove a potent auxiliary to the Sacred Heart. The Abbé Nau observes that, in all critical conjunctures of the world, "the

Church has been inspired to establish, in honor of the Mother of God, new devotional practices for efficaciously soliciting help from her, because every new homage is answered by new favors. If it were otherwise, and if special blessings were not attached to different observances, the Queen of Heaven would not have varied her graces as she has done in her different apparitions."* The abbé leaves it to be inferred, not obscurely, that the La Salette revelation was got up to flatter the Virgin into fresh manifestations, and accordingly as a *coup de théâtre* which promised, as indeed it has yielded, brilliant results. But before noticing more in detail the apparition of La Salette and the closely similar visions of Lourdes, it may be well to dwell at some length on the early as well as the recent history of Mariolatry, or the worship of the Virgin, which has received a new and powerful impulse under the reign of Pius IX.

The weak vanity and puerile character of the present pope have made him an apt instrument for the purposes of the Jesuits, and his reign has done more to revive childish superstition and arrogant pretension in the Church of Rome than any which had preceded it since the Reformation. The liberal tenden-

* Nau, "L'Apparition de la Salette," p. 157.

cies, real or simulated, manifested by Pius IX. in the first years after his election, to a degree which deluded many Catholics and even Protestants into a belief in the possibility of a reformed and reforming Rome, demanded an atonement, and this the Jesuits rigorously exacted, though, certainly, they have not found the pontiff a reluctant penitent. Fruits of this willing penance are the concordats with Spain, Austria, and Ecuador, all tinged with the darkest spirit of obscurantism; the Syllabus and Encyclica of 1864, and an almost uninterrupted succession of papal anathemas against every movement favorable to liberty and light; the canonization of a numerous body of new saints and the multiplication of recent miracles; the increased activity of the priests in the propagation of fabulous legends; the kidnaping of Jewish children to train them in the Romish faith; the definition of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the personal infallibility of the pope; the elevation of St. A. de' Liguori to the dignity and authority of a doctor of the Church; the consecration of the Church to the Devotion of the Sacred Heart; the recognition of the miraculous apparitions of the Virgin of La Salette and of Lourdes; and the intrigues which availed themselves of the superstition of the Empress of France, the dynastic aspirations of

the emperor, and the professional ambition of the *mamamouchie* who surrounded the imperial throne, to plunge France into a crusade against Germany.

The definition of the doctrine of papal infallibility is too recent to have yet allowed it to be judged by its fruits; but the earlier dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which was much less unacceptable to the episcopal body of the Romish Church, has evidently gone far to stamp a new character on the theology and the cultus of Catholicism, and its general acceptance has had much the same materializing tendency as the diffusion of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, on which we have already commented.

The historical origin of the devotion to the Virgin Mary as a religious exercise, and of its first virtual sanction by the Church, can not be traced. The most ancient paintings in the catacombs, which have been much relied upon as proofs that Mary was adored at Rome in the primitive ages of the Church, are now denied by competent authorities to be Christian at all; and they are very probably representations of sacrifices to a heathen divinity. But, though there is no ground for the belief that any cultus was paid to the Virgin in the first or second, perhaps not even in the third, century, there is no doubt that she was highly, if not idolatrously, reverenced in both

the Eastern and the Western branch of the Church before the downfall of the Roman empire. The advocates of a fusion between the Greek and the English churches have endeavored to establish a distinction between Orthodox Oriental and Romish Mariolatry, on the ground that the former ascribes no special sanctity to any particular picture or shrine of the Virgin, but considers all alike as merely memorial and incentive representations, and as all entitled to equal reverence. Theoretically, the highest theological standards of the Greek Church do deny the sacredness of the stock and the stone, the panel, the alabaster slab or the metallic plate, the colors, the gold-leaf and the pearls or gems, employed to depict or to adorn the representation; but practically, and without objection or remonstrance from the ordinary clergy, the partialities of the worshipers of favorite pictures of the Virgin in Greece and in Russia are often as fervently expressed as in the Romish form of Catholicism. The Russian troops in the Crimea, in 1854, were accompanied by an ancient and highly venerated picture of the Theotokos, which was expressly referred to in general orders from the head-quarters of the army, as a sacred talisman which could not fail to insure victory to those who marched and fought under its protection. In the ascription of di-

vine attributes to the Virgin, too, the Oriental falls little, if at all, short of the Western Church, for not only is she called the Μεσίτις, the mediatrix, in the service books, but prayers occur in them in which she is addressed directly as the giver of gifts and graces, without any reference to a higher power.*

The legendary literature of Mariolatry, from its most ancient manifestations to the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX., is an ocean, of which it is quite impossible to give the reader even a general idea within the limits of the present paper, and we must content ourselves with a brief notice of some of its leading features gathered from De' Liguori and other authoritative sources.

* Dr. Schaff, whose learning and candor will not be disputed, says of the worship of the Greek Church: "The cultus is much like the Roman Catholic, with the celebration of the sacrifice of the mass as its centre, with an equal and even greater neglect of the sermon, and addressed more to the senses and imagination than to the intellect and heart. It is strongly Oriental, unintelligibly symbolical and mystical, and excessively formalistic..... The worship of saints, relics, flat images, and the cross is carried as far as, or even farther than, in the Roman Church; but statues, bass-reliefs, and crucifixes are forbidden. The ruder the art, the more intense the superstition. In Russia, especially, the veneration for pictures is carried to the utmost extent, and takes the place of the Protestant veneration for the Bible."—JOHNSON'S *Illustrated Cyclopædia*, vol. ii., article *Greek Church.*

So far as pretended antiquity is concerned, the Letter of Messina takes a high rank among the Marian legends. As this epistle is not much known out of Sicily, we think it well to give it in full. The life, death, and resurrection of Christ having been made known at Messina by the preaching of St. Paul, a few years after the Crucifixion, the municipality of that town expressed to the Virgin their condolence with her in her affliction, by a special commission accredited by letters which, at the same time, embraced a profession of faith in the incarnation of the Divinity in the person of her son. This diplomatic monument unfortunately appears to be lost; but we have the Virgin's reply, the original of which is, or at least not long since was, still preserved in the cathedral of Messina. She wrote as follows:

"*Maria Virgo Joachim filia, Dei humillima Christi Jesu Crucifixi Mater, ex tribu Juda, stirpe David, Messanensibus Salutem, et Dei Patris Omnipotentis Benedictionem.*

"Vos omnes fide magnâ legatos ac nuncios per publicum documentum ad nos misisse constat, filium nostrum Dei Genitum Deum et Hominem esse fatemini, et in Cœlum post suam Resurrectionem ascendisse; Pauli Apostoli electi Prædicatione mediante

viam Veritatis agnoscentes. Ob quod vos, et ipsam civitatem, benedicimus; cujus perpetuam Protectricem nos esse volumus.

"*Ex* JEROSOLIMIS, *an.* 42 *Filii nostri*,
Ind. 1, *die Jov.*, 3 *Junii.*"*

* In English, thus: "The Virgin Mary, daughter of Joachim, the most humble mother of God, Christ Jesus crucified, of the tribe of Judah and of the stock of David, to the people of Messina health and the blessing of God the Omnipotent Father.

"It appears by a public instrument that you, recognizing the way of truth through the preaching of Paul, the elect apostle, have in your great faith sent to us embassadors and messengers; you confess our Son, begotten of God, to be God and man, and that after his resurrection he ascended to heaven; for which cause we bless you and your city, and will be her perpetual protectors.

"JERUSALEM, *in the 42d year of our Son, Indiction first, Thursday, June 3d.*"

The Jesuit Inchofer, we believe, first made known to the general public this letter of the Virgin in 1629, by an essay entitled "Epistolæ B. Mariæ ad Messanenses Veritas." The extravagance and folly of this story were too much for Inchofer's brethren, and he was charged by his superiors to moderate his transports. This he did in 1632 in a new paper entitled "De Epistolæ B. Virginis ad Messanenses Conjectatio." The original letter, which was preserved till Inchofer's time, is not now shown, but our copy is from a perfectly trustworthy source.

Inchofer, acting, no doubt, under the orders of his superiors, was one of the three accusers of Galileo in the remarkable proceedings of the papacy and the Inquisition against him for his astronomico-religious heresies. The shifts to which the apologists of Rome have been driven by the recent revival of the discussion respecting the treatment of Galileo and his theories would be amusing if the subject were not of too grave a nature to be a fit theme for ridicule. It is true that the proof of the actual infliction of physical torture on the great phi-

The comparatively humble tone assumed by the Virgin in this epistle would indicate that this pious fraud belonged to an earlier age than the lives of St. Bernard and St. Thomas Aquinas; but, not to mention other obvious critical objections, the use of the mediæval *mediante*, and the form of the date, would naturally lead profane skepticism to question the genuineness of this composition on purely philological grounds. It is, therefore, satisfactory to know that it has been recognized as authentic by a solemn decree of an infallible pope, a copy of which, engraved under a portrait of the Virgin, doubtless as genuine as her letter, is in the possession of the present writer.

losopher is not conclusive. Perhaps the balance of probability is against it. But the evidence that Galileo's recantation was made under the menace of torture if he refused to abjure his error is so overwhelming that Rome herself no longer *publicly* denies it. We are bound to believe that the holy men who conducted the examination meant what they said, and, of course, that they would have applied the actual torture if the victim had proved obstinate. But suppose they did not intend to go to an extreme, which Galileo's weakness rendered superfluous, is not the highwayman who presents a pistol at my head and threatens to blow out my brains if I refuse to deliver him my watch, as great a villain as the robber who plunders me of it by main force? Is it a less criminal abuse of power to extort a lie from a helpless prisoner by threats of violence to his person than to wring it from him by torture? It is worth remembering that the decree condemning Galileo's theories as contrary to the teachings of the Church, though practically disregarded, has never been rescinded, and it is, therefore, still in force and binding on the conscience of the faithful.

The personality of Mary now enters into the Romish idea of the Godhead, and a distributive share in the attributes and functions of the divinity has been assigned to her. St. Thomas Aquinas, the favorite theologian of the present pope, and St. Bernard are cited as maintaining this position. The Abbé Nau, whom we quote because his little essay is readily accessible to our readers, observes: "'The kingdom of God,' a celebrated personage has said, 'consists in justice and in mercy.' Now, the angelic doctor teaches us that one half of this kingdom was given to Mary when she conceived and bore the Word made flesh, and God, reserving to himself the domain of justice, granted that of mercy to Mary, so that she became Queen of Mercy. Mercy, then, is the appanage of the Most Holy Virgin; it is, so to speak, her essence."—P. 145. The "Glorie di Maria" of St. Alphonso de' Liguori would have furnished the Abbé Nau abundance of equally conclusive testimony in support of the divinity of Mary, and he might have silenced all cavil at once by an appeal to the authorities collected in the three ponderous quartos of the Jesuit Passaglia's "Commentarius de Immaculato Virginis Conceptu," published in 1855 in defense of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Not many of our readers have access to this latter work,

but De' Liguori's "Glories of Mary" may be found in most Catholic libraries in England and the United States, though perhaps only in editions expurgated for the Protestant market; and, besides, a controversy respecting the teachings of De' Liguori between the Rev. Dr. Cox and a Romish priest, in which the latter won few laurels, has made this saint familiarly, if not advantageously, known to American Protestants.

The "Glories of Mary" and the "Theologia Moralis" of De' Liguori have recently acquired increased importance, as recognized expositions of the present theological and ethical doctrines of Rome, from the fact that on the 23d of March, 1871, upon the unanimous recommendation of the Holy Congregation of Rites, Pope Pius IX., by solemn decree, referring in express terms to De' Liguori's "Theologia Moralis," as a treatise which had "dispelled the clouds of darkness diffused by unbelievers and Jansenists," and to his defense of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception (which forms a part of the "Glorie di Maria") and the papal infallibility, compared him to a "light set upon a candlestick," and proclaimed him a *doctor of the Universal Church.* This saint is thus placed on the same level with Jerome, Augustine, and the fourteen other fathers accepted by Rome as

authoritative teachers, and his works are virtually indorsed as inspired and infallible repositories of divine truth. These writings are constantly cited by Romish casuists as of conclusive authority. Indeed, the Congregation of the Holy Penitentiary has formally decreed that the simple "fact of an opinion being found in St. Liguori's works is ample warrant for its adoption, without any need to weigh his reasons."*

* Those desirous of understanding the ethical system of the "Theologia Moralis," as now taught and practiced by Rome, will find a candid, though too indulgent, exposition of it in an article entitled "The Doctrines of the Jesuits," in *The Quarterly Review* for January, 1875. Of course, the papal approval extends to De' Liguori's treatises on the confessional, some chapters of which are surpassed in indecency by nothing in the worst passages in Rabelais. It needs but a brief examination of this book to satisfy any candid inquirer that, of all the means of corruption ever invented by human ingenuity, the confessional is the most dangerous. When we speak of the corrupting influence of the confessional, we refer alike to the confessor and to the penitent; to the priest, bound by a vow of celibacy, and to the woman who is unfortunate enough to fall into the hands of a weak or unprincipled ecclesiastic. The danger to the latter is too obvious to need to be dwelt upon here; but it requires a certain familiarity with the disciplinary literature of Rome to be able to estimate the extent of the mischief to recluses whose imagination is often stimulated to an incredible degree by the study and composition of works on confession. De' Liguori, in treating the grossest questions, constantly cites St. Thomas Aquinas, and even Gerson, as having devoted themselves to their elucidation. If such is the effect on the purest minds among the professed, what must it be on those of ordinary mold?

De' Liguori rendered a signal, and under the circumstances a miraculous, service to the Church in the confession and absolution of the Holy Father, Pope Clement XIV., who had incurred the implacable

Will Dr. Newman deny that the "Church" is responsible for De' Liguori's teachings?

We will supplement the Abbé Nau's too modest use of irrefragable authorities by a few flowers from De' Liguori's anthology of encomiums of the Virgin. The edition we refer to was published at Bassano in 1852, with the sanction of the vicar-general of the ecclesiastical province of Vicenza. It conforms with other duly licensed and approved editions, and is, therefore, authoritative. In vol. i., chap. v., entitled "Necessity of the Intercession of Mary," St. Bernard is quoted as applying to Mary the term "aqueduct" or "channel," arguing that before her birth the current of grace was wholly wanting, because this channel did not exist, and adding that, as Holofernes broke down the aqueducts of Bethulia that he might the sooner reduce the city, so the devil tries to

wrath of Heaven by the suppression of the Jesuits, and could be shriven by none but De' Liguori, upon whom, by special divine revelation, authority had been conferred for that purpose. The saintly man was then Bishop of Naples, and by the miraculous gift of *bilocation*, as it is somewhat oddly called, he was able to remain at Naples and continue the discharge of his episcopal functions while present at the same time in Rome. He was, indeed, engaged in ministering at the altar in the cathedral at Naples at the very same moment when he was pronouncing the absolution of the dying sinner in the Vatican. Crétineau-Joly vouches for this as a well-established historical fact; but why the repentant pontiff did not spend his last moments in revoking his wicked decree does not appear.

destroy the devotion to Mary in man, because, this conduit of grace being interrupted, it is easy for him to gain over the soul. The same saint calls the Virgin the "Gate of Heaven," because no favor can come from heaven to earth except it pass through the hand of Mary, and none can enter heaven unless through Mary as through a gate. De' Liguori quotes with approbation the words of S. Riccardo di S. Lorenzo, "Our salvation is in the hand of Mary;" and of Cassianus, "The whole salvation of the world lies in the abundance of the favor of Mary;" of S. Bernardino da Siena to Mary, "Thou art the dispenser of all graces: our salvation is in thy hand;" of S. Germano, "None, O most Holy Virgin, cometh to the knowledge of God but through thee;" of S. Riccardo di S. Lorenzo, "Whereas it is said of other saints that they are with God, of Mary alone can it be affirmed that not only is she subject to the will of God, but that God is subject to her will;" of S. Damiano to the Virgin, "To thee is given all power in heaven and on earth; thou dost approach the altar of reconciliation not asking, but commanding," *non rogans sed imperans;* "thou art the mistress, not the handmaid;" of S. Bernardino da Siena, "All things, even God himself, are subservient to the empire of the Virgin," *Imperio Virginis omnia famulantur,*

etiam Deus. Quotations of this sort from De' Liguori and other Romish theologians might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and such expressions really form the staple of their writings on this subject.

The essential relations of Mary to the Divinity are perhaps more clearly set forth in De' Liguori's sermons, forming vol. ii. of "The Glories of Mary." Thus, Sermon IV. quotes approvingly from Suarez, "The dignity of the Mother is of a higher order, for it belongs, in a certain way, to the order of hypostatic union;" from St. Dionysius, "The relation of the Virgin to God is a supreme union with an infinite person, and she could not be more infinitely united to God except by becoming God;" from St. Bernardino, "In order that the Virgin might conceive and bear God, it was necessary that she should be raised to a certain equality with God, *quamdam æqualitatem Divinam;*" from St. Pier Damiano, "God is in the creature," *Dominus creaturæ inest*, "namely, in the Virgin Mary, by *identity*, for he is one with her;" and again, "God dwelleth in the Virgin, with whom he hath the identity of one nature;" from St. Bonaventura, "By thy governance, Most Holy Virgin, endureth the world which thou, with God, didst found from the beginning;" and De' Liguori adds, "Thus the Church applies to Mary the passage in the eighth

chapter of Proverbs as given in the Vulgate, 'Cum eo eram cuncta componens.'"*

These citations may easily be paralleled by hundreds not less extravagant; and, if the opinions of Romish theologians are authoritative, Pope Pius IX. was abundantly warranted in proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which, in the Romish sense, implies of itself a divinity of essence; for, by the same theology, sin is inherent in all lower or finite natures. In reference to this point, our first quotation from St. Bernard, through De' Liguori, is important, because, in common with much other evidence, it shows that Rome does not hold the Divinity of Mary to be derivative, and belonging to her merely as the instrumental means of the Incarnation; for it represents her as becoming the dispenser of all graces, not from the birth of the Son, but from her own. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception, therefore, proclaimed no novelty, but it determined

* This passage occurs in Prov. viii., 30, and refers to the divine wisdom of the Creator, so that, according to De' Liguori, the Virgin Mary in her earthly life was an incarnation of what had previously existed only as a spiritual essence, as the *Sapientia Divina*, the inspiring agent in the creative manifestations of God. Verses 29, 30: "When he appointed the foundations of the earth; *then I was by him as one brought up with him.*" The English authorized translation, as will be seen, differs from the Vulgate rendering of the Hebrew text.

by an infallible judgment what had been before a disputable question, and it has, in effect, substituted the Mother for the Son in the Romish theological idea of the Divinity. It represents Christ as having abdicated the functions and attributes ascribed to him by the New Testament, and become an altogether superfluous personage. The domain of grace is divided between Mary in heaven and the pope on earth; and Rome practically teaches that to these dignities alone supreme adoration is due. We have space for but a single illustration of this proposition. In the winter of 1873–'74 there was publicly exposed for sale in Rome, at a shop much frequented by devout Catholics, where crosses, crucifixes, rosaries, images, religious manuals, medals, pictures, and other material appliances of Romish worship alone are retailed, a photograph, from a carefully executed drawing or lithograph, of the following description:* At the top of the plate is represented the Eternal Father in the attitude of bestowing benediction; at his right hand, on a lower plane, the Virgin Mary; at his left, lower still, St. Peter; beneath the Father, the Holy Spirit emitting rays of light upon the central figure, which is Pius IX., crowned with the tiara and seated

* Gladstone has described this production; but we write with the photograph before us.

on the pontifical throne, with Europe, Asia, Africa, and America in adoration at his feet. *Christ does not appear in the picture at all.* The character of the establishment where this photograph is kept for sale leaves no doubt that it is approved by the ecclesiastical authorities of Rome.

Although the special domain of Mary is mercy, she has avenging terrors in store for those who profane her worship. Thus we learn from *Ossequio V.*, in the second volume of "The Glories of Mary," that in the year 1610 the devotees at the sanctuary of the Virgin at Montevergine had dishonored the vigil of Pentecost by dancing, drinking, and worse immoralities, as, in fact, is usual on such occasions. To punish the transgressors, the Virgin, as was testified by five eye-witnesses, appeared with a blazing torch in each hand, and set fire to the hospice in which a great number were assembled. The building, which was of wood, was totally consumed, and no fewer than fifteen hundred persons perished in the flames.* De'

* This narrative will recall to many of our readers the terrible catastrophe at the Cathedral of Santiago, in Chili, a few years ago. On a great religious festival, the priests had opened a post-office in the church for correspondence with the Virgin. Devotees dropped their petitions to Mary in a letter-box, accompanied by a suitable oblation, and received prompt answers through the attending clergy. At the moment when the receipt and delivery of letters was most active and

Liguori takes occasion from this fact—and it is worth attention as, perhaps, the only passage in his works which shows a glimmering of common sense—to advise the worshipers of the Virgin not to visit her sanctuaries on high festivals, which attract a great concourse of devotees.

According to the general tenor of the Marian legends, the indignation of the Virgin is excited and her favor conciliated, not by the sinfulness or the piety of the votary, but by neglecting or profaning her personal worship on the one hand, or sedulously cultivating it on the other. We are constantly told that she is incensed if observances in her honor are slighted, and gratified and propitiated when they are assiduously performed. We have given an example of her resentment which may suffice as a specimen. The following instances of the favor of the Virgin we take from the "Aggiunta di Vari Esempi," in the second volume of De' Liguori's "Glorie di Maria:"

A notorious robber in the environs of Trent, being

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the cathedral was crowded with worshipers, some of the decorations of the church took fire, the flames were communicated to the dresses of the ladies and other combustible objects, and twenty-five hundred men, women, and children were burned alive or trampled to death by the crowd in frantic efforts to escape. The priests saved themselves in the sacristy or other secure retreats, and few, if any, of them were lost.

urged by a monk to abandon his mode of life, replied that it was "too late to mend." "Well," said the monk, "then fast every Saturday in honor of Mary, and on that day do violence to none." The robber accepted the advice and went on his old course of rapine and murder, fasting and abstaining from crime only on Saturday, on which day, to be the safer from temptation, he made it a point to go unarmed. He was finally taken on a Saturday, condemned, beheaded, and thrown into a ditch. The Mother of God soon appeared, accompanied by four other celestial virgins, who took up the body, wrapped it in a rich cloth embroidered with gold, carried it to the gate of the city, and delivered it to the guard. The madonna ordered the guard to charge the bishop, in her name, to give honorable burial to the body, "because he was her faithful servant." Upon this, the whole population of that district adopted the practice of fasting on Saturdays.—*Example* 10.

In Normandy, when a robber was beheaded by "enemies"—of course, by criminal justice—his head, which was thrown into a ravine, was heard to say, "Mary, give me confession!" A priest confessed the head, and inquired what devotion its possessor had followed. It answered that his only religious observance had been to fast one day in the week in

honor of the Virgin, and that the Madonna had released him from eternal punishment upon confession.

A very wicked man in Spain, "wholly given over to the devil," never confessed, but said an "Ave Maria" every day. At his death the Virgin appeared to him, and looked compassionately upon him; he forthwith confessed, and died in peace.

We need not dilate upon the moral effect which the circulation of such tales, on the high authority of St. Alfonso De' Liguori, must inevitably have upon a superstitious and depraved population.* Cheap

* Most of the Sicilian and Calabrian assassins and robbers find an occasional "Ave Maria" sufficiently tranquilizing to the conscience to enable them to sleep the sleep of the just, without troubling themselves about amends or restitution; but the benevolence of the "good old pope," Pius IX., has provided a remedy for those queasy spirits who are still disturbed by compunctious visitings, in the famous *Bolla di Composizione* issued by him, in 1866, for the special solace and comfort of timid and overscrupulous thieves, brigands, and other villains who lack a lively saving faith in the Virgin. This excellent arrangement not only secures to the sinner peace here and hereafter, upon very easy terms, but is the source of a considerable revenue to the Church. The *Bolla di Composizione* is not new in principle or in practice, for it has long been usual with the priesthood to pardon and absolve unlawful possessors of other men's goods upon a fair division of the spoil between the Church and the thief. But, like the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it formulated, sanctioned, and regulated what was generally but loosely and unequally accepted and practiced before. The object of the bull is stated to be to "temper the severity of a just satisfaction," and it provides that a thief, robber, or other holder of ill-gotten gains shall remain free and pardoned, *in foro conscientiæ*, upon devoting to pious uses about three

editions of these books are found everywhere in Italy, and are constantly studied by the worst classes of the people who are able to read. It is a remarkable and painful fact that the robbers and assassins of Italy are not from the most ignorant or the poorest portion of the population. The majority belong to what would be called the lower stratum of the middle classes in other countries, and they, or at least the leaders of their bands, are almost always able to read and write. Books of devotion like "The Glories of Mary," and, for those of higher pretensions, the "Theologia Moralis" of De' Liguori, are their manuals of ethics; and the robbers and murderers of the old Neapolitan and Pontifical territory are generally among the strictest observers of outward religious ordinances, and are especially fervent worshipers of the Virgin. Her images, medals, and devotional formulas are found upon the person of every brigand

per cent. of his plunder; and "may keep and possess the remainder in good faith, as his own property justly earned and acquired;" *provided*, always, that the person entitled to restitution be unknown to the wrong-doer. Of course, little ingenuity is required to ignore the person entitled to restitution in any supposable case, because, though the immediate loser may be known, the thief can never be altogether sure that such loser was, *in foro conscientiæ*, the person really entitled to the property; for the loser himself may have come unlawfully into possession of it. The bull extends not only to theft and robbery, but to gambling, cheating, and every possible mode of illegal plunder.

who falls into the hand of justice, and to her they confidently look for aid and protection in the perpetration of the frightful atrocities of which they are guilty.*

The cultus of Mary, already widely diffused, is growing and spreading with a rapidity which might seem dangerous to the Devotion of the Sacred Heart; but the latter, as emphatically French in origin and character, is the special favorite of the Government and the higher classes in France, and is therefore sustained by very powerful influences. The Jesuits, who administer (and, to use an expressive Gallicism, *exploitent*) both these forms of creature-worship, find it convenient to throw their great weight into one scale or the other, as circumstances from time to time render expedient.

As Spain was the birthplace of the founder of the order of Jesuits, the great apostle of Mariolatry, so that country and the sister state of Portugal have long been remarkable for the fervor of their devotion to the Virgin, and for the abundance of their contributions to her biography and the history of her miracles. Some of these narratives relate to her earthly life, and some to the spiritual graces im-

* See Hilton, "Brigandage in Italy," vol. ii., ch. ii.

parted by her; but the great majority of the Spanish and Portuguese Marian legends are accounts of material miracles performed by her through the ministry of sacred images, to, or at least before, which the prayers of the votaries are addressed. The intervention and concurrence of the images themselves seem to be considered not less essential than the action of the Virgin in the performance of the miracle; and in many, if not most, cases the actual presence of the pictures or statues at the place of supplication and of operation is indispensable, for they seldom appear to possess the power of acting efficiently at a distance.* The image of Our Lady of the Remedies, at Alfano, in Portugal, much invoked by fishermen, is almost constantly absent from her shrine in the Church, being engaged at sea in lending a hand to navigators in peril, to the scene of whose danger

* This fact serves to explain the superior promptness of the relief afforded by the images of the Virgin; for, as Saint Anselm informs us, "Velocior nonnunquam salus, memorato nomine Mariæ quàm invocato nomine Jesu"—Healing is often more speedy, upon appealing to the name of Mary, than upon invoking the name of Jesus. The eloquent Father Vierra thinks Anselm did not go far enough in using "nonnunquam," often, and regrets that he had not said, rather, "semper," or "quasi semper," always, or almost always.—*Sermoēs*, vol. i., p. 278. Time is an element in the transmission of all material energy, and hence a drowning man can be plucked from the water more speedily by a present hand than by a force, however potent, operating from afar.

she transports herself in time of need. The image not unfrequently returns well drenched, a fact which, as her biographer judiciously observes, proves that she must have plunged into the water to rescue the sufferers. The "Santuario Mariano," from the first volume of which we derive these facts, contains, in its ten quartos, the description and history of no fewer than two thousand *Imagens Miraculosas* of Our Lady existing in Portugal and its foreign dependencies, and the Marian population of Spain is proportionally numerous. This is a matter of philosophical interest, because it helps to explain the remarkable moral and material progress of the Spanish people after the sixteenth century, when they surrendered their entire government into the hands of the Jesuits, who, with the images, are well known to be the earthly representatives and vicars of the Virgin.

We do not know the original date of the two miraculous documents we next describe. Judging from internal evidence, we should presume them to be of quite modern fabrication, and of Jesuit paternity. They seem to be special favorites of Pius IX., and have at least received new currency from his indorsement. They may, therefore, be properly introduced in this part of our essay. The first lays claim to some antiquity, having been found, it is said, in the

Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and afterward preserved in a silver casket by the Emperor Charles V. and "His Holiness." The story is that Christ appeared to St. Elizabeth, St. Matilda, and St. Bridget, and delivered to them a written account of the details of his passion, stating the number of soldiers who attended the Crucifixion; of kicks, blows, and wounds inflicted upon the Saviour by them; of punctures from the crown of thorns; and of drops of blood shed and sighs breathed by the sufferer. The fractures of the skull, it is said, were one hundred in number, and the drops of blood thirty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty. This document, as it is now printed, is accompanied with certain prayers, and the concession of one hundred days of indulgence to every one who shall keep in his house a copy of it, and recite the prayers attached. The indulgence was granted in 1839 by the then Archbishop of Imola, who has since become pope under the title of Pius IX.

The other miraculous communication is a letter from the Saviour, printed in characters of gold, and sent, through her guardian angel, to a girl of St. Marcel, in France. It was published at Rome "by permission of His Holiness, Pius IX." It resembles the first, of which it appears to be a French amplifi-

cation, the numbers having been multiplied in some such proportion as the dignity of a pope bears to that of an archbishop; for the drops of blood are reckoned at three millions and eight hundred. Those who deny the authenticity of this impudent forgery are threatened with the wrath of Christ; while to all who maintain its genuineness, and carry it about with them, plenary indulgence, the remission of sins, and the special aid of the Virgin in the hour of death are promised. These disgusting and profane fables are printed by hundreds of thousands, and exposed for sale, together with vulgar and often immoral ballads, at half the street-corners and book-stalls in Florence, Rome, and other Italian towns.*

In Italy, statues and pictures of the Virgin are so universally a most prominent feature in the apparatus of churches, and especially of rural chapels, that in some provinces "*imagine*" is the usual popular designation of these latter edifices. An American gentleman not long since heard a political agitator, in addressing a peasant audience in Tuscany, denounce the existing Government of the kingdom because it had not set up images of the Virgin in the railway stations, as he said would have been done if the Italian people were "free."

* See Appendix XI.

We can afford space to notice only a couple of Italian Madonnas, each typical of a class. The church of Santa Maria, at the Porta del Popolo at Rome, possesses a portrait of the Virgin and the infant Christ by St. Luke, which is believed to be the only one painted by that, or indeed by any, artist from the life, all the other numerous works of the sort being repetitions or imitations of this. The history of this picture and of the church built to contain it is given at length by the Rev. Ambrogio Landucci in a small quarto, printed at Rome in 1646, under the title given in our list, and is a very fair specimen of this department of religious literature. Few churches are so rich in relics as Santa Maria del Popolo, many of which—such, for example, as a certain portion of the person of Christ—ought to be unique; but the value of several of the relics is somewhat diminished by the fact that numerous equally well-authenticated, and in an equal degree miraculously gifted, duplicates of them exist elsewhere. The indulgences bestowed upon this church by a long succession of pontiffs are such that every sin finds here its easy atonement, and the worst of criminals might secure his salvation, and that of all his accomplices, by the industry of a single day devoted to the prayers and genuflections prescribed by the ordinances. Per-

haps the most noticeable feature of this book is the catalogue of titles and qualifications that belong to the Virgin. They are three hundred and five in number, and include, of course, the common attributes, Help and Hope of Christians, Arbitress of the Divine Mercy, Right Arm of the Eternal Emperor, Complement of the Most Holy Trinity, Co-operatrix in Human Redemption, Giantess of Paradise, Most Serene Empress of the Universe, Mediatrix, Queen, First-born of the Creatures of the Eternal Father, Shrine of the Holy Spirit, Spouse of the Eternal, Temple, Complement and Conclave of the True and One Trinity, True Mediatrix between God and Man, Living Image of God, Sweetest Sugar of Salvation, etc., etc. But there is one—True and Sacred Lamprey of the Sea—which we do not remember to have seen elsewhere. We are not sure that we understand this appellation, but we suppose it to mean that, as the lamprey was the chief delicacy of Roman gastronomy, so Mary is supremely adorable among creatures.

The pictures of the Virgin asserted to be repetitions or ancient copies of the portrait by St. Luke are numerous, but this evangelist was a statuary as well as a painter. He is not, we believe, thought to have wrought in marble, but there are in Italy several mir-

acle-working statues of the Madonna in wood, which are supposed to be productions of his skill. The Madonna of Oropa, in Piedmont, is perhaps the most celebrated of these. It is of very coarse workmanship and nearly black from age, or perhaps quality of material, and there is reasonable proof that it is of very considerable antiquity, though there is nothing but tradition to connect it with St. Luke.

A few years ago, the Virgin of Rimini, which represents a numerous class, the automatic or pantomimic Madonnas, was in high repute; but the profane hands of the Piedmontese civil and military authorities have detected and exposed the springs, cords, pulleys, and other contrivances by which so many sacred pictures and statues were made to roll the eyes, to shed tears, and make puppet-like gestures, that they have fallen rather into discredit. The Virgin of Rimini is a picture of some merit, given by the family of the artist to a church at Rimini in 1810. It manifested no signs of life until 1850, when it was observed by three ladies to roll its eyes upward until the pupil disappeared beneath the upper eyelid, nothing but the white remaining visible. This graceful and expressive movement was repeated during the following days, and after some weeks' practice the image acquired the valuable additional accomplish-

ments of turning the eye-balls laterally, and even of rolling them in different directions at the same time. The prodigy excited great attention, the bishop took the matter in hand, and it was swiftly laid before the pope himself, by whose orders an ecclesiastical commission was organized to inquire into the genuineness of the miracle. The testimony of one hundred witnesses was taken and recorded. The depositions filled several hundred folios of paper, and an abridgment of them was printed, which may still be had cheap at the church of Rimini, plain copies being sold, even to heretics and scoffers, at only two francs; to those specially blessed by His Holiness Pius IX., one franc extra. The pope authorized the coronation of the image in his name, and bestowed upon all who should visit the Church on the day of the coronation, or within fifteen days afterward, and perform the required services, plenary indulgence and remission of all sins, transferable, *per modum suffragii*, to any of their friends in purgatory.

IV.

MARIOLATRY IN FRANCE.—CONCLUSION.

FRANCE, as is well known, always has been, and still is, "the leader in the march of modern civilization and progress."* Victor Hugo declared that, even after the catastrophe of 1870, France looked down upon the rest of the world as a giant looks down upon pigmies. But she is not less distinguished for her spiritual graces than for her military and political greatness. Her very revolutions are miraculous in their benignity. Her sovereign is the Eldest Son of the Church, the Caliph of the Faithful; she is the official champion and protectress of Catholicism all over the world. All Catholics are, in a religious sense, Frenchmen; just as, according to sound Mohammedan divinity, all men are born Moslems, though too often sadly corrupted by evil communications. Hence, as France owes patronage and protection to Romanism, so all Catholics owe fealty to France, and

* See any French book, *passim*.

this is the real foundation of the claim of that power to suzerainty over Italy.* It is therefore not surprising that the Virgin should have had "*the good taste*"† to make the territory of that chosen land the Romish Palestine, the theatre of recent apparitions and revelations surpassing in splendor and importance all former manifestations of her glory and of her partiality for Frenchmen. Such apparitions have been very frequent since the return of the Bourbons; but professional jealousies among the clergy have prevented the success of many of the devotions originated by them. Two, however, have spread a celestial lustre over the closing years of the reign of Louis Philippe and the empire under Napoleon III., to

* For a striking picture of the effects of the domestic and foreign politico-religious policy of the French Government, see "La France," the last and ablest work of the lamented Count Agénor de Gasparin. Much interesting information on the same subject may be found in Taxile Delord, "Histoire du Second Empire." See, particularly, the history of the Syllabus of 1864 in volume iv., and of the definition of the dogma of papal infallibility in volume v. In the latter volume is a notice of the organization of a "new devotion" in France, the members of which took a "formal pledge to observe and profess the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope even to blood," *usque ad effusionem sanguinis.* They bound themselves to propagate this doctrine by all the means conferred by "authority and affection," to circulate books defending it, and to suppress those attacking it. The proceedings of the association were secret. The pope wrote letters of congratulation to persons of position who joined it.—Page 605.

† See speech of Bishop Ségur, quoted *post.*

which latter prince, more than to any other man, the recovery of the Romish Church from the decadence with which it was threatened at the first organization of the republic is to be ascribed. The first of these was the apparition of the Virgin, in 1846, to an ignorant and stupid peasant boy and girl,* aged respectively eleven and fifteen, near La Salette, in the Department of Isère. The scene of the apparition was a desert plateau, frequented only by shepherds, at the height of six thousand feet above the sea, and hence called by the devotees the "new Sinai." A dazzling cloud of light first appeared to the children, which soon spread and displayed a beautiful woman crowned with a halo of glory, but with a sad expression of countenance. She called the children to approach, saying she had great news to communicate to them. She then began to declaim against the sinfulness of the peasantry in neglecting the worship of the Virgin on Sundays, and in taking the name of her Son in vain in their profane swearing; for it appears that the wagoners of the Isère swore as terribly as did "the British army in Flanders." She declared, with many tears, that if her people did not submit, she

* The dullness of the girl, Mélanie, was such that, notwithstanding the illumination of her spirit by the Virgin, she was not intelligent enough to receive the communion till two years later.

would let go the arm of her Son, which was growing so heavy she could no longer hold it. "I have allowed you," said she, "six days for labor, and reserved the seventh for myself, but you will not give it to me. Your wagoners can not even swear without appealing to the name of my Son, and it is these two things which make his arm so heavy." She then proceeded to explain that she had spoiled their potato crop the year before, by way of admonition, but that this chastisement had produced no effect. "On the contrary," continued she, "when you cursed and swore about the rot in your potatoes, you always brought in the name of my Son. Well, they shall rot again, and all spoil before Christmas." Thus far the Virgin spoke in French, and the children, who knew only the jargon of their province, did not understand her. Perceiving this, the Virgin said, "Ah, my children, you do not understand French," and then repeated her discourse in their patois, not from the beginning, but only from the threat about the potatoes. How Father Berthier learned the preceding part of her revelation does not clearly appear, but we have not the least doubt that his report of it is as accurate as of the remainder. The Virgin then went on in the local patois, threatening the failure of the crops of wheat, of the nuts, and the grapes, a

pestilence among the children under seven years of age, and a great famine. She now relapsed into French, which, as there is good reason to think, is her habitual language. Addressing herself to the boy, in a tone inaudible to the girl, she communicated to him a secret, and then a longer secret to the girl, also in French, and in a voice not heard by the boy. The dialogue went on in the patois, and terminated by a charge to the children, in French, to make all this known "to all my people."* The Virgin then slowly retired, rose to the height of a metre and a half above the ground, remained suspended a moment, then gradually disappeared, the head vanishing first.

Father Berthier is evidently ashamed of the silliness of this story, but he stoutly maintains the genuineness of the apparition, and declares that the simplicity of the Virgin's discourse could scandalize none *except such as have never read the Holy Scriptures.* We fear that most of Father Berthier's readers are precisely in this case; for to the faithful the reading of the Scriptures without special permission, not always easy to obtain, is *tabooed.* Still we believe that his narrative is well suited to the intellect

* We regret to say that Father Berthier has not favored us with a bilingual copy of the dialogue, which would have been an interesting study in comparative philology.

of his public. He finds a sufficient material proof of its authenticity in the fact of an increase of flow in a small spring, at the scene of the apparition, which formerly often dried up in summer, but has now become perennial, and is possessed of miraculous healing virtues.

His Holiness Pope Pius IX. desired to know the secrets confided by the Virgin to the boy and girl, and which they had religiously kept for five years. Two ecclesiastics of the diocese of Grenoble were commissioned to obtain the important information, which, though with much difficulty, they succeeded in extracting from the children, by demanding it in the name of the pope. Having in the mean time learned to read and write, each child wrote down and sealed its secret, and the Bishop of Grenoble delegated a solemn embassy, consisting of two of his clergy, to carry these "mysterious dispatches" to Rome. They were duly delivered to His Holiness, who did not seem to attach great importance to the boy's revelation, but was much saddened by that of the girl, which, he said, threatened great woes to France, Italy, and the rest of Europe.

The "new Sinai" acquired almost at once an immense celebrity throughout France. There was a vast affluence of pilgrims, each doubtless contribu-

ting his mite; and by this means, by special collections, and by pious gifts and legacies, money was soon raised to build a magnificent church large enough to contain twenty-five hundred worshipers, two convents, a large hospice, and a great number of subsidiary structures, monuments, and crosses; and hundreds of thousands of devotees were enrolled in associations formed to promote the worship of the Virgin of La Salette. In 1872, a national pilgrimage was organized, as Father Berthier says, "under the protection of Ste. Philomena, the thaumaturgist of the nineteenth century," to do homage to that saint and to the Virgin of La Salette, "with the double object of obtaining from heaven the salvation of France and the *deliverance* of the Holy Father." This pilgrimage, in its successive divisions, is said to have numbered two hundred thousand votaries.

The devotees of the Sacré Cœur, who profess to embrace in their organizations in France and in foreign countries not fewer than twelve millions of members, concurred in this demonstration, and we strongly suspect that the "national hymn" written for the occasion, and chanted by the pilgrims with wild enthusiasm, derived its lofty poetical inspiration, through a regular *medium*, from Marguérite Marie Alacoque; though one may conjecture, with perhaps equal prob-

ability, that it is the joint production of Maximin and Mélanie, the boy and girl of La Salette. In fervid emotion and lyric elevation it compares very well with Victor Hugo's "*Nous l'avons eu, votre Rhin Allemand!*" and with the best of the French Tyrtæan war-songs of the late Franco-German contest. It is not strange, therefore, that the concluding stanza and the burden should have been sung by such a choir in a frenzy of religious patriotism. We regret that Father Berthier does not give the music, but it is safe to presume that it was worthy of the words:

Mère d'amour, Vierge de la Salette,	Mother of love, O Virgin of Salette!
Voyez-nous tous pleurer à vos genoux.	Low at thy knees behold! we weeping fall.
Calmez l'orage, écartez la tempête,	Calm thou the tempest, bid the storm retreat,
Priez, Priez pour le Pape et pour nous!	Pray, pray thou for the pope and for us all!
Refrain.	*Refrain.*
Dieu de clémence,	God our defense,
Dieu protecteur,	Thou mercy art!
Sauvez, sauvez la France,	Oh save, oh save our France,
Au nom du Sacré Cœur!	In the name of the Sacred Heart!

The most important feature of the national pilgrimage of 1872 is its evident political character and purpose. It is one of the many evidences of the deliberate intention of the clerical party of France to stir up the people to a new *jehad*, a new crusade

against liberty and light, whose first triumph is to be the overthrow of the kingdom of Italy and the restoration of the temporal power of the papacy. During the pilgrimage the mountains everywhere re-echoed the cry of "Long Live Pius IX.!" and the sermon delivered by the Bishop of Grenoble on the occasion is a modern edition of the harangues of Peter the Hermit. The bishop even indicates the plan and period of the campaign, in detailing a conversation at Rome between the pope and a prelate who had written a paper on the next conclave. "My friend," said the pope, "your conclave may perhaps not be so very near. So long as I had not outlived the years of Peter, I could not resist a certain fear (*frayeur*); but, since the fatal crisis is passed, my heart is comforted, and I feel that my arm has still strength enough to open the doors of my basilicas at the jubilee of 1875." "Yes, my dear brethren," continued the bishop, "the beloved pontiff will live to share the triumph of the Church, after having witnessed her battles. He will see, too, the salvation of France, for the destiny of the daughter is inseparable from that of the mother." The meaning of all this is clear enough; but the expectations of the bishop and the pope have not been fulfilled, and the period of their accomplishment must be placed in the same

category as the Restoration of the Jews and the Second Advent.

The splendid success of La Salette soon led to new attempts to get up analogous manifestations elsewhere,* but, as we have hinted, they were often smothered by the local jealousies of the clergy. A late movement in favor of the Perpetual Rosary of Mary was formidable enough to threaten not only La Salette and Lourdes, but even the Sacré Cœur, and it was defeated only by a solemn resolution of the General Congress of the French Catholic Committees at Paris. At this congress, as appears by recent journals, Père Edouard, a Dominican, urged, as an infallible means to save France and the Church, the Devotion of the Perpetual Rosary, while Père Ramière, a Jesuit, stoutly defended the Devotion of the Sacred Heart as more efficacious. Monseigneur de Ségur said that the Holy Virgin shows *very good taste* by choosing France for the theatre of her apparitions, and that Gallicism in France is dead and buried since the 19th of July, 1870. He declared himself in favor of the Sacred Heart, which was finally sustained against the Perpetual Rosary.†

* See descriptions of several apparitions of the Virgin in 1872, in Michaud, "L'Église Catholique Romaine en France," pp. 54, 55, 56.

† The new "devotions" which are constantly springing up in

The failure of many of these attempts is more especially owing to a circumstance which, notwithstanding great apparent triumphs, seems to be sapping the foundations of the Devotion of the Sacré Cœur and of La Salette—the want of a catch-word, a tangible rallying-point in the shape of a dogma, a quotable maxim or aphorism, in short, of what, in

France, Alsace, and Belgium are not always directly connected with the worship of the Virgin. Take, for example, the recent case of Louise Lateau, a French girl, who had the *stigmata*, or marks of the nails of the Crucifixion, miraculously impressed upon her, was often thrown into "ecstasies" or trances, and was finally commanded, by divine revelation, to abstain from earthly food, receiving no nourishment but the consecrated wafer of the sacrament daily administered to her by the priest. This delusion was kept up for many months, and excited great discussion in France and Germany, the genuineness of the miracle being stoutly defended by the ultramontane clergy. At last a "strong-minded" sister interfered, and refused the priests admission to the girl's room. Upon this she soon called for food, returned to common life, and the supernatural manifestations ceased.

Another late candidate for celestial honors is the blessed Germaine Cousin, a wonder-working shepherdess of Pibrac, in the French Department of La Haute Garonne, who was beatified in 1867.

The municipal council of Toulouse, having impiously refused to vote a statue to this holy girl, the city has incurred the divine wrath, and, according to the *Gazette de Nimes*, "it is probable that the fearful inundation of 1875 at Toulouse was a terrible punishment inflicted by Heaven for this scandalous refusal..... If the city council had voted what was asked, Divine Providence would not have treated the capital of Languedoc so severely." And, again: "We prefer," said they, "a fountain to a statue. God has sent them an overwhelming fountain." According to the same authority, the only portion of the city walls which resisted the fury of the flood was "that constructed by the old monarchy."

these days of deep and thoughtful investigation into foundations, is called a *principle*. At one of the congresses of the Holy Alliance, the assembled sovereigns proclaimed "Totus mundus stultizat et imaginarias Constitutiones quærit"—The whole world is gone a-fooling after constitutions. Men now go a-fooling after principles, even if they signify no more than that "crumpets is wholesome," and govern their lives by jingles of words and hollow maxims which they imagine to be of necessary and fundamental truth. Of course in this enlightened generation a brand-new devotion will thrive the better if it has this capital stock to show as its *raison d'être*. The prevalence of the potato-rot in the Isère and the profane swearing of the wagoners of that rustic and obscure department were hardly a *dignus vindice nodus* demanding the intervention of a goddess, hardly a basis on which to found a new religious dispensation. A "new departure" must clearly be taken. The picturesque and easily accessible valley of Lourdes, in the vicinity of attractive scenery much visited by tourists, and closely connected with frequented watering-places (so that the fashionable world might conveniently resort thither "to repent at idle times"), with no rival shrine in the neighborhood, and with a population of such advanced intelli-

gence that a number of them could read, write, and cipher, and that several newspapers (including, of course, the *Univers*, and, alas! even the *Revue des Deux Mondes*) had subscribers among them, was selected as the scene of the new avatar. It was obvious that with such advantages, and with the help of a good working "principle," Lourdes might do much. These expectations have been realized, and in fact the very initial wonders of Lourdes have not been surpassed even by the *merveilles* of General Failly's chassepots at Mentana. In the *mise en scène* the Madonna of Lourdes much resembled Our Lady of La Salette, but it was more artistically conceived and executed—better got up, in short—and it had, what La Salette wanted, a fulcrum, a πού στῶ, in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception promulgated in 1854 by Pius IX. This dogma had been strenuously resisted by the wisest portion of the Catholic clergy, and though most of them had nominally submitted, yet the new article of faith had by no means settled down into an accepted doctrine in 1858. A revelation on this point would do much to crush opposition on the one hand, and to edify and encourage the more docile on the other. The Immaculate Conception, therefore, was judiciously selected as the nucleus of the new devotion, and it is not strange that the

present pope should regard this confirmation of a dogma of his own definition with marked favor. The authoritative historian of this apparition is Mr. Henri Lasserre; and the edition of the work we quote, a large octavo of 400 pages, is accompanied with a brief from Pius IX., dated the 4th of September, 1869, recognizing the genuineness of the manifestation, and praising the book and its author according to their merits, which indeed are great. Mr. Lasserre has devoted much time and labor to his work, has visited the sacred locality, taken long journeys to confer with witnesses, and made personal investigation into every accessible source of information as to the reality of the miracle. In short, to use his own words, he has endeavored "to follow the excellent method so admirably employed by Thiers, in acute research and diligent and persevering labor of preparation for writing his great work, 'The Consulate and the Empire.'" Mr. Lasserre evidently feels that he has equaled, if not surpassed, his prototype. We will not undertake to draw a parallel between the two writers in point of literary merit, especially in style, because we are obliged to content ourselves with a Dutch translation of the new Gospel,* which

* The translator's name is not given. We are unable to reveal what his blushing modesty withholds, but we run little risk in saying

does not soothe the ear so agreeably as Mr. Thiers's well-turned periods. But, in justice to both, we are bound to say that the Chauvinism of the one and the religious enthusiasm of the other have borne fruit of much the same quality, and as historical monuments, the apotheosis of Bonaparte in "Le Consulat et l'Empire," by Mr. Thiers, and the glorification of the Virgin of Lourdes by Mr. Lasserre, as we have it in the Low-Dutch version, "Onze Lieve Vrouw van Lourdes," have about an equal right to be considered veracious records.

The Virgin of Lourdes met with some opposition even in ecclesiastical circles; but the discipline of the Church soon put to rest all clerical questionings. The civil authorities were not so soon disposed of. There had been doubting Thomases among the priesthood, and there were Rabshakehs among place-holders with figured buttons and embroidered coat-collars. The question of patronage or suppression went from the groundlings of official life up to syndics, prefects, ministers, and was finally laid before the majesty of Napoleon III. himself, then in the height of his glory as patron of the Romish Church. But Mr. Lasserre shall tell the story in his own eloquent

that the version is *ab uno e Societate Jesu.* We use the fourth edition, printed at Ghent in 1873.

way: "The emperor had quietly watched the origin and progress of the new revelation before the ministry appealed to him for instructions.

"Immovable, according to his habitual custom, silent like the granite sphinxes which keep watch and ward at the gates of Thebes, he viewed the contest; he observed the changing aspects of the struggle in expectation that the public conscience would, so to say, prescribe to him his decision."—Page 296. "Napoleon is no garrulous monarch. He seldom makes his thoughts known by words, but usually by deeds only. When he learned the foolish and violent measures by which the minister, the prefect, and their subordinates had brought the Imperial Government into contempt, his eye flashed, he shrugged his shoulders in suppressed wrath. A cloud of profound indignation spread its wrinkles over his severe brow. He seized his table-bell and rang it violently.

"A servant appeared.

"The emperor, meanwhile, had written with a trembling hand something upon a slip of paper. He folded the paper, gave it to the servant, and said, 'Carry that to the telegraph!'

"What he had written was a very brief dispatch to the prefect, to the effect that he could not be too

quick in recalling his orders with regard to the cave of Lourdes, and in leaving the people free.

"The telegraph, say the philosophers, is only lightning.

"That day the prefect, Baron Massey, was of the same opinion as the philosophers. The telegraphic thunder-bolt of the emperor fell suddenly before him, and he was stunned as if his house had been destroyed by a stroke of lightning."—Page 303.

But we are anticipating our narrative. The recipient of the Lourdes revelation was Bernadette Soubirans, a stupid girl of fourteen, affected with some organic disease, not altogether so ignorant as her sister of La Salette, but who had been taught nothing but the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the Creed, and the Gloria Patri, which she said with her rosary. The vision much resembled that of La Salette. Lasserre describes the costume of the lady with a gusto which betrays the assistance of a professional *modiste.* We can not follow him in these details, but we can conscientiously recommend the translation we are using to any lady desirous of familiarizing herself with the Low-Dutch vocabulary of the art of millinery.

Bernadette saw the apparition eighteen times on different days, and on each occasion she had compan-

ions or spectators, sometimes as many as twenty thousand, *who saw and heard nothing.* One is not surprised to learn that Louis Veuillot, editor of the *Univers,* was present on one of these occasions. As the lady did not speak on her first and second appearance, the companions of the girl advised her to bring pen, ink, and paper the next time she went to the scene of the visions—a lonely mountain glen closed by a precipice known as Massabielle, or the Old Rock —in order that the lady, whom they conjectured to be a soul in purgatory, might write her wishes. The girl offered them to the apparition, but the lady opened her lips, and said: "What I have to say to you I need not write. Do me the favor to come here [daily] for a fortnight."—Page 46. At one of the appearances the lady made two communications to the girl, one a secret for herself, the other a message for "the priest," ordering that a chapel be built for her. The priest directed the girl to ask the lady, at her next manifestation, to give some token, some evidence of her power. "It is February," said he; "tell her to make a rose-bush bloom if she wishes a chapel built." The girl communicated the message, but did not receive a direct reply. The vision smiled, told her to pray for sinners, and communicated to her another personal secret. At the next interview

a third personal secret was communicated, and Bernadette was told to drink and wash at the spring, and eat some of the herbs which grew around it. There being no spring near, the girl was confounded, but she dug with her hands at the spot pointed out by the Virgin. Muddy water flowed into the hole and gradually swelled into a plentiful fountain, which still continues to flow.* At the next appearance of

* Monsieur Lasserre took the pains to gauge the spring, and informs us, with praiseworthy exactness, that the delivery is 85 litres per minute, which he computes to be equal to 5100 litres per hour, or 122,400 litres per natural day of twenty-four hours. As only a homeopathic dose of the miraculous fluid is needed for a cure, this supply of about 1000 barrels per day is enough for the present domestic and foreign market; and we have little doubt that it will increase in proportion to the demand.

The water of Lourdes, warranted to "keep good for any length of time in any climate," is now exported by the cask to the Spanish American States; and it is not improbable that the fervor inspired by the introduction of this new religious stimulant aided the priests to stir up the mob that murdered a Protestant clergyman in the city of Mexico a few months since; and very likely it had a part in the still more recent burning of witches in that enlightened country, in the submission of Ecuador to papal dictation, and in the riots in New Granada. The liability of this sacred fluid to the excise tax, on sale for use elsewhere than at the spring, has proved a knotty question in France. The local authorities attempted to enforce the payment of the duty, and lawyers could see no ground for a distinction between the water of this spring and that of ordinary healing mineral springs; but the Central Government at Paris, having duly considered this weighty problem, *a grand renfort de besicles*, was of opinion that the water of Lourdes, not being a natural or an artificial product, is not taxable, and decreed accordingly. It appears from later advices that

the lady, Bernadette begged her to tell her "who she was, and what was her name." The apparition folded her hands, looked up to heaven, said, "*I am the Immaculate Conception!*" and vanished from sight. The formula thus enunciated, on the authority of the Virgin herself, a "principle" was proclaimed around which a new organization of devotees could rally, and the great object of the manifestation was attained. The motive of the Virgin, Mr. Lasserre thinks, was "to bear witness, by her appearance and her miracles, to the truth of the latest doctrine defined and proclaimed by the Church and by St. Peter, speaking by the mouth of Pius IX., a dogmatical matter of faith."—Page 169. Our philosophical historian attaches great importance to the form of the declaration. "The Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ did not say, 'I am the Immaculate Mary,' but, 'I am the Immaculate Conception,' as if to express the perfect and essential quality of the divine privilege which she alone, since Adam and Eve were created by God, possesses."—Page 168.

Bernadette's success excited emulation. Many idle children, among them one of the choir-boys in Ber-

the same question is now pending at Rio Janeiro in reference to the customs duty on a case of four dozen bottles of Lourdes water just imported into that city, on speculation, by way of trying the market.

nadette's church, saw visions apparently not less remarkable than those of the girl; but the curate, worthy Mr. Peyramale, who seems to have been the administrator of the miracle from the beginning, immediately took active measures to suppress these manifestations, and Bernadette remained without a rival. Our readers will probably not find it difficult to conjecture how this enlightened man was able to distinguish between the true miracle and the false.

The orders of the Virgin for the construction of a house of worship were obeyed; the foundations of a stately church, which has since been completed in a style of great magnificence, were immediately laid; hospices and other buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims have been erected; and the line of a railway in course of construction from Tarbes to Pau was changed so as to pass by Lourdes, at a considerable expense as well as increase of distance. But, as we have said, the great advantage of Lourdes over its rivals, Paray-le-Monial and La Salette, lies in the possession of a catch-word connected with a favorite dogma of the Church. The revelation of the La Salette apparition was trivial and insignificant, and its reputation is sustained wholly by its miracles and by the patronage of a powerful party who use it for political purposes. But miracles grow on every bush.

No religious imposture fails for lack of supernatural proof. The miracles of La Salette were outdone by those of Lourdes even in the infancy of that revelation. La Salette, having no solid basis, and lying remote from frequented routes of travel and places of fashionable resort, is gradually sinking into a mere local superstition. The Devotion of the Sacred Heart is, indeed, wide-spread and flourishing; but it is only by a strong effort and the patronage of French official circles, which cherish it as especially a national dispensation, that it is kept up. The devotion of Lourdes, on the contrary, has all the elements of self-support. By the laws of action and reaction the wonders of Lourdes have magnified the dogma of the divinity of Mary, and the growth and diffusion of that faith have given a new sacredness to the scene of the apparition of Massabielle which so signally confirmed it. Hence the Devotion of Lourdes is a growing religion, and, as nothing succeeds like success, its first triumphs have been already far outshone by its later glories. The crowds of votaries increase every day. New and more brilliant miracles are hourly wrought. The demand for its water is extending, arrangements have been made for its regular exportation to foreign countries, and it competes everywhere with the mineral waters of atheist Germany and other pro-

fane sources *in partibus infidelium.** The "New Sinai," or La Salette, is paling before the rock of Massabielle. To the superficial observer nothing seems wanting to assure the permanent supremacy of the Dispensation of Lourdes. But France loves novelty. There is a fresh heavenly revelation somewhere on her sacred soil every year, as there is a new revolution in her Government. The gross and repulsive materialism of Paray-le-Monial may at last disgust even France, and better taste may perhaps find a substitute for the fountain of Lourdes in new stars which are rising above the celestial horizon.

The Vatican had, for a time, the intention of incorporating Joseph, the husband of Mary, into the Godhead; but for the present he has been advanced only to the dignity of Patron of the Church, a position which had become vacant by the downfall of its late incumbent, Napoleon III. This post has been but a sinecure during the two years which have elapsed since the promotion of Joseph, but a new apparition and a few miracles may make him a formidable rival to the cultus of the Sacred Heart and

* The administrators of the Devotion of Lourdes have added a new stimulus to the fervor of French worshipers, by announcing that the favor of their Virgin is promised to France in the coming war with the German Empire, and she is now popularly known as *La Vierge de la Revanche*, the Bellona of the War of Revenge.

the Devotion of the Virgin. The greatest danger to these devotions, however, is that prefigured in the photograph we have mentioned. In that design, Mary appears in the part formerly assigned to Christ, at the right hand of the Heavenly Father; and the central position of the scene, in the radiance of the efflux from the dove, is occupied by Pius IX. Mary and the Immaculate Conception have had their glorification at Lourdes; Pius IX. and the dogma of papal infallibility are entitled to theirs. Infallibility is a higher prerogative than sinless purity, and the material worship of Rome will reach its consummation only when Pius IX.—possibly not before his death—shall reveal himself to some Jesuit *protégée* and proclaim, "I AM THE PAPAL INFALLIBILITY!"

The legendary lore of modern Italy, absurd and often demoralizing as it is, falls, nevertheless, short of that of France in a quality which is best expressed by a French word, *niaiserie.* The Italian intellect can not readily dive to a bathos in which Gallic superstition floats as at its natural level, and consequently the better-instructed classes in Italy reject with scorn foolish and profane fables which seem to be readily accepted by the majority of even educated men and women in France, and by too many of the

same relative social position in Great Britain and the United States.

The eminent Monseigneur Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, who, according to Nau, sustained the miraculous manifestation of the Virgin of La Salette, lately issued to the clergy of his diocese a long letter on modern prophecies and prodigies. Having unfortunately committed himself in favor of La Salette, the bishop was obliged to be cautious in speaking of recent *miracles*, but he is very severe on *prophecies*, and justifies himself by citing cases where the Holy Office at Rome—one, *mirabile dictu!* even in the time of Pius IX.—has condemned pretended revelations, prophecies, ecstasies, visions of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Virgin, as "frauds and falsehoods." How Monseigneur Dupanloup discriminates between the impostures which he and Pope Pius IX. have sanctioned, and those which he and Pope Pius IX. have condemned, he does not inform his clergy. He could not, of course, explicitly denounce by name the Sacré Cœur, La Salette, and Lourdes, because, not to speak of his own unfortunate self-committal, an authority to which he must at least affect to bow has recognized them as genuine; but his language most unequivocally embraces them all, and we can not but hope that his letter is meant as a recan-

tation of the approval he had given to cheats and superstitions from which his better reason recoils.

We have hinted that these devotions have been used for political effect, and have been sustained by the influence of official circles. Persons who are not familiar with the polity of states which recognize a particular sect as constituting an official or national church, have little conception of the vast moral power exerted by the governments of such countries in religious matters, even when no legal restrictions exist against dissent. Wherever there is a state religion, religion in the governing class is purely an affair of state, and the higher circles conform to the official religion as rigorously, if not as conscientiously, as to the court costume at royal entertainments. When the miracles reported to be wrought at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, who died in the odor of sanctity in the reign of Louis XIV., produced an excitement which threatened the public peace, the supernatural manifestations were suppressed by a royal edict, which, though parodied by the wits, was acquiesced in by the multitude without a murmur. The governments of Catholic countries have rarely encountered any serious opposition from the people in carrying out measures of ecclesiastical reform. The Government of Italy has not had the slightest

difficulty—except from foreign intrigue—in abolishing the ecclesiastical courts, in making civil marriage obligatory, in suppressing the convents, and finally in forcibly discrowning the pope of a diadem, his usurpation of which had been sanctioned by the tame acquiescence of a thousand years. Portugal, Spain, and Naples expelled the Jesuits from their dominions even while the society was sustained by the Holy See; and the successive tottering governments of Spain found their people readily submissive to all the late laws which tend to overthrow the domination of the priesthood. In short, for centuries civil government has proved itself to possess stronger moral power than Rome, wherever it has had the courage to defy her. The papacy lives chiefly by political support, and the shrewder of the French devotees at the three fashionable shrines of Paray-le-Monial, La Salette, and Lourdes are rather courting the favor of rulers and aristocrats than suing for celestial graces; for the Tuileries, not the Vatican, is the real capital of the Franco-Romish religion.

There is, perhaps, no one respect in which the general opinion of our times so much exaggerates the achievements of modern progress, and the power and value of modern improvement, as in its estimate of the present depth and diffusion of intellectual culture

among the Christian population of the world. We fancy that the Christendom of the nineteenth century is too securely enlightened to be in any danger of a relapse into the blackness of darkness which covered the earth a thousand years ago. But the chaotic age which preceded the reign of Charlemagne gave birth to no more senseless and degrading superstitions, to no blanker idolatry and fetichism* in relig-

* Idolatry is the ascription of the divine essence or attributes to a created being or thing, whether a person, an image, or a representative object, conceived to be entitled to worship as an impersonation or incorporation of the Deity. The term fetichism (the Portuguese *feitiço*, fictitious, delusive, magical) is sometimes applied to the worship of malignant demons, but in present usage it more commonly signifies religious homage or adoration paid to a material creature or thing, supposed to be endowed with preternatural power of good or evil, and to be capable of propitiation by superstitious observances. Hence the worship of the Virgin Mary as partaking of the divine essence, according to the definition we have quoted from Suarez, St. Dionysius, St. Bernardin, St. Pier Damiano, and St. Buonaventura, and as she is actually conceived of by the ignorant classes in countries where the Romish religion prevails, is idolatry. With the refined and spiritually minded among the devotees of the Sacred Heart, sentiments of reverence for the divine may, and doubtless do, underlie and elevate the worship to the dignity of idolatry; but with those who accept the materialism of Father Gallifet and the manual of St. Sulpice—and these, we fear, are the majority—their devotion is as purely a fetichism as the direct adoration of a block, or the propitiation of a bread-fruit-tree by a sacrifice. The worship of relics, as *inherently* possessed by miraculous powers and virtues, belongs to the same class. It may, however, claim some indulgence, as having a foundation in the natural interest we feel in material objects connected with the life of those whom we regard with love or veneration. But there are many Romish fe-

ion, to no more arrogant claim, no more tyrannical exercise of ecclesiastical power, than have disgraced the generation in which we live. The impostures of miracle-workers are as gross, the abuses of ecclesiastical discipline as flagrant, the stolid slavery of the reason and the conscience to priestly authority as abject, in a large proportion of the highest and the low-

tichisms, such, for example, as that of the *abitino*, or scapulary of Mary —a sort of under-jacket of blue silk—which have not this palliation. "As men think themselves honored by having in their service persons who wear their livery," says De' Liguori, "so Mary is gratified if her devotees wear her scapulary." The efficacy of this "livery" is such that those who wear the *abitino* of the Immaculate Conception are entitled to the benefit of all indulgences granted to any devotion, holy place or person. Every time they recite six Paternosters, Ave Marias, and Gloria-Patris, they acquire five hundred and thirty-three plenary, and innumerable temporal, indulgences, all transferable *per modum suffragii* to souls in purgatory or other sinners in need. The scapulary must be worn day and night until quite worn out; and if it has been duly blessed, the benediction—in bestowing which the priest plays the part of the medicine-man or conjurer—will pass by succession to the new one which replaces it, without any new ceremony, and so on, *toties quoties.*—*Glorie di Maria, Ossequio VI.*, vol. ii. The *abitino* has the great advantage of sparing the wearer the trouble of expensive pilgrimages, visits to particular churches, charities, and good works of all descriptions, and is a convenient substitute for medals, crucifixes, amulets, and relics. Hence it is one of the most eligible contrivances yet devised for securing the soul-hele of the possessor, and at the same time for encouraging national industry, by promoting the sale of some millions of sleazy blue jackets every year. This pitiful superstition has been sanctioned by many papal ordinances, and, as might be expected, these have all been confirmed by the never-failing Pius IX. by decree dated December 3d, 1847.

est ranks in populations which claim the Christian name, as at any period of European history known to us. It is within the life-time of most, if not of all, who will read this article, that Jewish children have been kidnaped by priests, to be educated in the Romish religion;* that erring nuns have been built

* Edgar Mortara is the son of Solomon Mortara, a Jewish merchant and manufacturer of Bologna, then under the joint dominion of the pope and of Austria, and was born at that city in 1852. At the age of two years he was so severely ill that his physicians gave him over, and discontinued their visits. A Catholic Jewish servant in the family seized an opportunity, when no other persons were present, to baptize the child. Edgar, however, unexpectedly recovered, and the fact of his baptism was concealed for four years. About this time another child of the family fell ill and died. Before his death, an old woman advised the servant, who still remained in the family, to save him from eternal misery by baptizing him. The servant told her old friend that she had baptized Edgar when supposed to be at the point of death, but intimated that the sacrament had availed nothing, because the child had recovered, remained with his parents, and was growing up as a Jew; she therefore refused to repeat the experiment with the other child. The old woman revealed the facts to her confessor, who reported them to the bishop, and he, in turn, to the cardinal legate. One evening in June, 1858, by order of that prelate, a detachment of the police took possession of the house of the father, and at four o'clock the next afternoon tore Edgar from the arms of his mother, and he was carried to Rome in a carriage between two bailiffs. The family were frantic with grief, and in the course of the day the principal Jews of Bologna interceded with the cardinal to spare the child, and resorted to the means commonly employed by the Jews to escape persecution by Catholic rulers, the offer of a large sum of money, but in vain. The boy was placed in a religious house at Rome with catechumens, and afterward transferred to San Pietro, in Vincoli. The father repaired to Rome, and had audiences of the pope

up in convent walls; that the papacy has proclaimed itself divinely inspired and infallible; that a pon-

and of Cardinal Antonelli, but got nothing but empty words. He returned again with the mother, but even her anguish failed to soften the stony hearts of the pontiff and his minister. The parents were allowed to see the boy, who was of an excessively timid character, but only in presence of a priest, and when his mother asked him whether he wished to go home with her, he turned to her to say yes, but a look from his keeper, which he well understood, deterred him from expressing his wish. He was now sent to Alatri, whither his parents followed him; but they were soon obliged to flee, because the mob, whom the priests had persuaded that the parents meant to kill the child to prevent his being brought up as a Christian, assailed them with threats of taking their lives if they did not instantly leave the town. The family removed to Turin in 1859, and the father visited Paris and London, in the hope of obtaining diplomatic aid for the release of his son. More than one foreign power exerted itself in his behalf, and the public opinion of the whole civilized world severely condemned the papacy. Even Louis Napoleon, who was then in military possession of Rome, and could, of course, have rescued the child, if so disposed, expressed disapproval of the conduct of the priests and their head, but refused to take strong measures to repair the wrong. The boy was carefully educated at Rome, made great proficiency in his studies, was much flattered and caressed by the pope, and received early ecclesiastical promotion. In 1870, after the liberation of Rome, the father and brother visited the city; but the arts of the priests had weaned the heart of the youth, then eighteen years of age, from his natural affections, and he no longer desired to return to his family. But the priests, fearing the effect of continued intercourse with his friends, sent him to Belgium. By a papal dispensation he received full orders as a priest before the canonical age, together with a lucrative benefice in France, where he still remains, and he has preached with much success in that country and in Belgium.

Keller, author of "L'Encyclique du 8 Décembre, 1864, et les Principes de 1789," a book rivaled in absurdity only by some of the works of Donoso Cortes, affirms, p. 151, that "the Church has always pro-

tifical encyclical letter has formally approved every doctrine proclaimed, sanctioned every official act per-

fessed and maintained, as an inviolable principle, not only respect and tolerance for those who are not born in her bosom, but also their liberty to educate their children in their own worship;" and, again, p. 296: "The [Romish] Church has always proclaimed and respected, more than any other, the right of parents to educate their children in their own belief, however erroneous. If there occurs, from century to century, an exception like that of little Mortara, such exceptions have the advantage of establishing, in a formal manner, the limits which the Church has prescribed to herself and the infinite precautions with which she has surrounded the rights of the parents." He proceeds to state that the Church forbids the baptism of Jewish children without the consent of the parents, "*except in case of imminent danger of death*," and justifies the kidnaping of the child Mortara by the priests on the ground that "he had become a Christian, in spite of the Church, as it were," and that his baptism by the servant "gave him a right to be educated in the full knowledge of the truth," and the pope "would have given his own life rather than abandon a soul for which he had become responsible."

The sincerity of the Church in such professions may be judged by the following case, in which there was no pretense of "imminent danger of death," and yet the child, baptized in direct violation of the pretended rules of the Church, was forcibly detained from the parents by the priests:

On the 25th of July, 1864, Joseph Coen, a boy nine years of age, the son of Jewish parents residing at Rome, disappeared from the shop of a Catholic shoe-maker to whom he had been apprenticed, and who at last confessed that he had secretly baptized the child, and given him up to a priest to be conducted to the school of catechumens. The parents repaired to the convent in search of their son, but were driven away with brutal insult, and the mother was saved from imprisonment only by the intervention of the French embassador. Influential persons, including the Catholic members of the diplomatic corps, endeavored to effect the release of the boy, but the Roman Curia paid no heed to their remonstrances. Upon the liberation of Rome by the Italian

formed, renewed every claim advanced, by the Romish See and priesthood in the long period of their existence. And, to crown all, it is but five years since one of the cruelest and bloodiest of religious persecutors was canonized by Pope Pius IX., and declared a worthy object of adoration for the perpetration of atrocities never surpassed in the wildest excesses of human wickedness.*

In our self-complacent security against the return of mediæval barbarism, we habitually forget that there are important countries in both Europe and America where the proportion of the people who have received scholastic training at all, or indeed any instruction except catechetical lessons, is smaller than it is in Mohammedan Turkey and in some other Oriental lands, and not very much greater than it was in the darkest period of the Middle Ages in Europe. If we inquire what per cent. of the inhabitants of the

army on the 20th of September, 1870, Joseph's parents, who had removed to Leghorn, returned to Rome in the hope of recovering their child, but were assured by the superior of the convent that he had run away, and that nothing was known of him. After an active search by the new police, he was found in the house of a lay employé of the convent, to whom he had been committed for concealment, and was restored to his parents by the Royal Government. His discovery took place just in time to prevent him from being carried off in disguise by an Irish priest, in pursuance of an arrangement between the superior of the convent and the priest.

* See Appendix XII.

Latin, Celtic, or Slavonic states of the Old World, or of the Hispano-American countries of the New, or even of our own Southern and South-western territory, so much as know the letters of the alphabet, we shall find that in several of them, from one-tenth to one-third only of the males, and scarcely more than half of that proportion of the females, have the slightest acquaintance with the arts of reading and writing. And even of those whom educational statistics report as able to read, a large share are not sufficiently instructed to comprehend any written or printed matter except the simplest possible narrative; while of those who read with a certain fluency, and write sufficiently well to keep their own accounts, there are comparatively few who can follow the drift of a sermon, or a forensic or political discourse, or understand any argument which does not assume the form of an appeal to their prejudices or their passions.

In the German states, in Great Britain, and in the Northern United States, the masses are better instructed; but even here it is constantly apparent that mere knowledge of words and facts, though an indispensable means of mental culture, does not necessarily imply any such discipline of the reasoning faculty as to qualify the possessor to form a legitimate judgment on any abstract moral proposition, or to ar-

rive at sound conclusions in problems which can be solved only by following a course of logical argument. This is especially seen in the total inability of multitudes of persons, highly cultivated in some directions, to weigh evidence, whether direct or circumstantial, and determine which way the balance inclines. We believe, indeed, that we do not go too far in saying that, even in what are called the educated classes, most men adopt opinions, or rather cherish prejudices or bow to authority, without ever rising to the formation of a *judgment* upon any abstract question of a complex character or permanent interest. The aristocratic English pilgrims who flock to Paray-le-Monial and to Lourdes and La Salette do not believe the narratives of the recipients of the visions as facts established by reasonable evidence. They do not exercise their reasoning faculties at all on the subject. They accept these idle tales because, notwithstanding Dr. Newman's insinuation to the contrary, their Church has recognized them as genuine and authentic. Their belief in them is a faith founded on authority, not on testimony. They are overawed, not convinced, and, in short, their minds, so far as such subjects are concerned, are in the same condition as those of their ancestors in the time of Thomas à Becket, and as those of the

most ignorant classes on the Continent at the present day.*

* That Rome confidently calculates on the unintellectual character of the influential and professedly instructed classes, is shown by a thousand proofs, one of which falls under our eye as we write. We refer to the quotations from a letter from the Bishop of Montpellier to the deans and professors of the University of Montpellier, contained in the following article in a late number of the London *Times*. The professors are distinctly informed that all their science, even "physiology," must conform to the opinions of an infallible pontiff.

"*To the Editor of The Times:*

"SIR,—A learned French friend has favored me with a copy of a letter recently published in France, and bearing the following title: 'Letter of Monsignor the Bishop of Montpellier to the Deans and Professors of the Faculties of Montpellier.' Its date is the 8th of this month of December, 1875. One or two extracts from it may not be without their value for the people of England and of America, to whom, in our day, has fallen the problem of education in relation to the claims of Rome.

"The bishop writes to the deans and professors aforesaid:

"'Now, gentlemen, the holy Church holds herself to be invested with the absolute right to teach mankind; she holds herself to be the depository of the truth—not a fragmentary truth, incomplete, a mixture of certainty and hesitation, but the total truth, complete, from a religious point of view. Much more, she is so sure of the infallibility conferred on her by her Divine Founder, as the magnificent dowry of their indissoluble alliance, that *even in the natural order of things, scientific or philosophical, moral or political, she will not admit that a system can be adopted and sustained by Christians, if it contradict definite dogmas.* She considers that the voluntary and obstinate denial of a single point of her doctrine involves the crime of heresy, and she holds that all formal heresy, if it be not courageously rejected prior to appearing before God, carries with it the certain loss of grace and of eternity.

"'As defined by Pope Leo X. at the Sixth Council of the Lateran,

The solid and only secure progress—if, indeed, any human gains can be said to be secure—which mod-

"Truth can not contradict itself; consequently, every assertion contrary to a revealed verity of faith is necessarily and absolutely false." It follows from this, *without entering into the examination of this or that question of physiology, but solely by the certitude of our dogmas*, we are able to pronounce judgment on any hypothesis which is an anti-Christian engine of war rather than a serious conquest over the secrets and mysteries of nature.'

"Liberty is a fine word, tyranny a hateful one, and both have been eloquently employed of late in reference to the dealings of the secular arm with the pretensions of the Vatican. But 'liberty' has two mutually exclusive meanings—the liberty of Rome to teach mankind, and the liberty of the human race. Neither reconcilement nor compromise is possible here. One liberty or the other must go down. This, in our day, is the 'conflict' so impressively described by Draper, in which every thoughtful man must take a part. There is no dimness in the eyes of Rome as regards her own aims; she sees with a clearness unapproached by others that the school will be either her stay or her ruin. Hence the supreme effort she is now making to obtain the control of education; hence the assertion by the Bishop of Montpellier of her 'absolute right to teach mankind.' She has, moreover, already tasted the fruits of this control in Bavaria, where the very liberality of an enlightened king led to the fatal mistake of confiding the schools of the kingdom to the 'Doctors of Rome.'

"Your obedient servant, JOHN TYNDALL.

"Athenæum, December 16th."

As an illustration of the stultifying influence of a habit of accepting legendary tales upon the authority of the priests, we give the following anecdote: A lady recently perverted from the religion of her fathers to Romanism, being asked by a friend of ours whether she believed the legend of the Holy House of Loreto, replied, "Not yet, but I hope soon to believe it, and I daily pray to God that faith may be given me to accept it." No doubt the lady's prayer was heard. A rational being who has gone so far as deliberately to ask Heaven to take from him Heaven's best gift, reason, is not likely to meet a refusal.

ern society has made, is founded not on the supposed superior culture, moral or intellectual, of the highest ranks, nor on the diffusion of instruction among the lowest, but on the conquests which the middle classes, and within the present generation the female sex, have successively made, first over prejudices instilled into their minds by spiritual teachers, and next over the usurpations of their temporal and ecclesiastical rulers. It was the self-government of the mediæval burghers and commoners, and especially the practical discharge of civil and political duties (out of which grew clear conceptions of civil and political rights), that rendered these conquests possible. The leading principle of all these advances is, that men are to be governed not by arbitrary personal authority, but by their own self-enacted law. This is what underlies the strenuous efforts of municipalities and small jurisdictions to secure, on every change of sovereigns, an acknowledgment and ratification of their old usages, privileges, local laws, statutes, *fueros*, or by whatever other name the rules of civic and communal administration were called. It was not merely a blind attachment to old and familiar forms, and to old maxims of right, which inspired these struggles. The burghers adhered to their customary jurisprudence, not because it was ancient and sanctioned

by time and acquiescence, but because it was the expression of their own will and reason, the exercise of self-government in the organized tangible form of law, as opposed to arbitrary rule. The essential distinction between law and naked authority is, that the law binds the ruler as well as the subject, and that supreme power can not be exercised except in conformity with its provisions. The real question now pending between the Church, and what ecclesiastics are pleased to call "the world"—between Rome and civilization—is, whether society is to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary personal will of functionaries set apart from the common life of man, and in no way accountable for the use or abuse of their powers. And this is not a contest between Catholicism and Protestantism. It is a struggle between the Roman Curia, on the one side, and the reason and conscience of enlightened humanity, on the other; and it is as hotly waged within the nominal pale of the Church itself as without it. "Old Catholicism" claims to be the expression of the Catholic, not Romish, idea; and though its professed adherents number only thousands, its real disciples compose the majority of the intellectual and conscientious men and women of the Catholic Church.

If we were called upon to name the general class,

not clique or circle, of persons which most favorably represents the real culture—we do not mean polish—of the British and the American population, we should say it is that from which juries are ordinarily selected. This class, though intelligent as a whole, is by no means conspicuous for literary or scientific attainment. On the one hand, it admits none who have not a certain amount of education, of familiarity with active and practical life, of reputation for candor and integrity, and a certain moral and social status in the community. On the other hand, it usually excludes professional men, whether lay or ecclesiastical, academic teachers, persons in the military and civil public service, and, by legal provision or practical indulgence, artists, authors, editors, persons devoted to scientific pursuits, and very generally the members of the wealthy and aristocratic circles. Its principal characteristic is a superior good sense, and this is in no small degree the fruit, not of book-lore, but of the training it receives in the ordinary transactions of business life, and in the exercise of municipal functions. But the best discipline enjoyed by this class is from frequent attendance, as parties, witnesses, or jurors, in courts of law, where questions of fact, depending upon the comparative weight of a vast variety of modes of proof, are constantly sub-

jected to searching examination by acute and practiced investigators. The persons of whom juries are composed form, too, a large part of the audience when questions of finance and matters of political economy are publicly discussed in municipal assemblies and at political gatherings, and in this way they become familiarized with reasoning upon questions of a more abstract nature than those upon which they are usually called to pronounce in the jury-box.

The devotees of the experimental sciences, or sciences of observation, the knowledge of which may be, and often is, carried very far with an incredibly small amount of general culture and a mere infinitesimal degree of large intellectual discipline, and, indeed, all persons engaged in special studies or occupations acquire much acuteness of judgment in their own particular fields of thought and observation, but out of this narrow sphere, they are inferior to average jurymen in the practical exercise of the logical faculties in general reasoning.

And yet, incontestable as is the superiority of the stratum of society from which English and American jurors are drawn to any other large division of the population, as sound judges upon questions of fact, or mixed law and fact, what is the present opin-

ion of the most experienced British and American lawyers in regard to the system of trial by jury as a means of arriving at justice and truth?

What we call the ornamental circles of modern society give abundant evidence that there may be a great deal of "sweetness" with very little "light." Conspicuous as they are for elegance of manner and phrase, and sometimes for a quickness of apprehension and readiness of wit which help them to shine in repartee, in *persiflage*, in dexterous equivocation and *double-entendre*, in ironical expression and sarcasm, and even in an aphoristic *Weltweisheit* which simulates wisdom, they rank, nevertheless, quite below the middle classes in real practical power of thought and judgment. The worship of fashion in manner and opinion, as well as in dress, creates not only an outward material uniformity in these circles, but a mental and moral solidarity which is eminently hostile to all original and independent exercise of the higher and better faculties. This is especially true of the latest phase of English society and of its too numerous American imitators. Even so lately as fifty years ago, personal individuality of thought and character was the most conspicuous feature of English humanity. With the wide extension of what is considered elegant life in England, this trait is fast

disappearing. The animal gregarious instinct has triumphed over the rational social impulse. The suppression of individuality is demanded by the inexorable law of fashion, and good taste forbids any departure from the forms consecrated by the self-elected hierophants who preside in the drawing-rooms of approved society. An affectation of admiration for all that belongs to European mediæval life, often accompanied with the profoundest ignorance of the real spirit and essence of mediæval history, has been for some time the mode in England as well as in America; and the revival of ecclesiasticism in religion, made fashionable by Dr. Pusey and his associates, has been followed by a like revival of mediæval taste in art, and by the unearthing of multitudes of half-forgotten popular superstitions, which any person of ordinary intelligence would have been ashamed to own half a century ago. In the circles we refer to, old fooleries revived, whether in dress, in opinion, in manners, or in religion, are more attractive than new. Hence it is fashionable for Protestant gentry to attend the services at semi-popish places of worship, to build new churches after Middle-age models of most ungraceful, clumsy, and barbarous styles of architecture, to discourse about "orientation" of churches and the "eastward posture" of

the priest;* it is thought a graceful feminine weakness to shrink from dining thirteen at table, or from sitting at a stand lighted by three candles; and, above all, among persons affecting the slang and cant of modern æsthetical criticism, it is fashionable to talk of the peculiar character impressed on mediæval art by the devotional feeling of the builders and carvers and painters of the "Ages of Faith."

* See a letter from E. B. Tylor in a late number of the *London Times* on this "childish fancy," which is unequivocally a heathen observance, accepted, indeed, by the Greek, but not by the Romish Church. Catholic metropolitan churches or cathedrals, it is true, are often placed east and west, but this is because they are built on the ancient foundations of duly "oriented" heathen temples, and in general no attention whatever is paid to the points of the compass, in erecting churches in Catholic countries. They conform to the lines of the streets, or are posited in compliance with other considerations of convenience, as any one may see by referring to a plan of Florence, Rome, or any other Italian city.

We have witnessed ludicrous mistakes by Protestant ecclesiologists who have attempted to find the cardinal points and steer their course in Italian cites, by "the church;" but the most extraordinary case of "orientation" known to us was in the building of a chapel at a well-known scientific school in the United States. It was supposed by the learned gentleman consulted on the occasion that not the rising of the sun at the equinox, but Jerusalem, was the true Christian *Kiblah*, and therefore that the chapel should front the Holy City. To determine the precise direction of Jerusalem was not altogether a simple matter, and after much discussion it was decided that the main aisle, or longer axis of the chapel, should coincide with a great circle passing through its site and the city of Jerusalem, which would of course, be the *shortest* route between the two points. Hence the chapel fronts a point some degrees north of Jerusalem, and indeed does not face any part of Palestine.

There were even in the darkest period of the Middle Ages, as there have been among the absolute skeptics of ancient Greece and Rome, the Mohammedans, the Buddhists, and even the pagan populations of the world, individuals distinguished by the possession of every intellectual quality, every moral virtue, which sheds lustre on humanity. But these were always, as they are to-day, rare exceptions; and a vast majority of the rulers and the people of all classes and all countries, in those long centuries, were characterized by arbitrary tyranny, vice, ignorance, and superstition to a degree to which the present day scarcely furnishes a parallel; and we are not speaking at random when we affirm that, with a few very narrow and very brief exceptions, the best European government, the best general condition of so-called Christian society, in the Middle Ages, were worse than the worst now existing in any portion of the civilized or even semi-civilized world. The pretended "Ages of Faith"* are a pure historical, or

* Romish and Romanizing authors are generally wise enough to refrain from fixing precise dates and localities in their rhapsodies on the "Ages of Faith;" and the chronology and geography of the times and countries when and where humanity enjoyed the blessedness they fable of are much like those of the old romances of chivalry and the legends of the Romish Church. Sometimes, however, a writer is reckless enough or ignorant enough to "lay the venue," as lawyers say, of his fiction with a precision which enables the reader to detect the

rather, ecclesiastical, fiction, a deceitful and dishonest fable, wholly without any basis of fact—at least in

falsity of his representations. Thus Keller, "L'Encyclique," etc., p. 167, in general eulogium on all that is detestable in the history of European Christendom, speaks of "les beaux jours de Grégoire VII. et d'Innocent III.," the noble age of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. To the reigns of these popes belong the establishment of the celibacy of the clergy and of obligatory auricular confession—two of the most demoralizing measures ever ordained by human power; the proclamation and confirmation of the temporal as well as religious supremacy of the papacy over all civil governments; the renewed activity of religious persecution stimulated by Innocent III. in his letter to an archbishop in Western France in 1209, ordering that heretics "*per principes et populum virtute materialis gladii coerceri*," be exterminated with the sword by princes and peoples; and in the crusade against the Albigenses, undertaken and prosecuted with unscrupulous blood-thirstiness at his instigation. These *beaux jours* were followed by an uninterrupted succession of others not less splendid, under the papal sway of the following centuries down to the reign of Alexander VI., soon after which the reaction caused by the Reformation, although it did not reclaim Rome, yet checked for the time her further progress in the direction she had been so long pursuing.

The commencement of the "Ages of Faith" is lost in the obscurity of early mediæval history, but they embrace the whole period from the earliest trustworthy annals of the papacy down to the reign of Leo X., an era, as Gasparin has well described it, "of darkness, of tears, of blood, of triumphant iniquity and immeasurable calamity," an "iron age, in which Rome ruled all, and humanity sunk to the lowest point at which its existence was longer possible." The impression made on all candid minds by the thorough study of this period is that, to the vast majority of men, its centuries were Ages of Despair, illuminated by no ray of earthly hope, no intelligent faith in a blessed hereafter. And yet Keller, "L'Encyclique," etc., p. 155, thinks that even the Inquisition ought to be regarded as a beneficent institution, because it "served as a dike against the overflow of the cruelty of the people" toward heretics! What a religious training the people must

the sense usually ascribed to the phrase—a period when the popular masses, or even the more intelligent ranks, devoutly believed in, worshiped, and obeyed an unseen God. The *faith* of the centuries thus designated in fashionable religious circles was what the Jesuits and their nominally Protestant allies are trying to make the religion of this generation—a faith in fetiches, far more degrading than the blindest worship of natural forces impersonated as gods; a faith not a whit more intellectual, more spiritual, or more Christian than that which prompts the native population of many countries of British India to build, at this day, heathen temples rivaling in dimensions, in cost, in splendor, and in constructive skill the proudest triumphs of European religious architecture.* If such a halcyon period, such a Golden Age, as religious enthusiasts dream of had ever really existed, its central point of supreme excellence would, of course, have been at the focus of Romish devotion, the Eternal City and the Pontifical States; and other countries would have been favored with

have received from their priests if their fury had made them more terrible to Jews and Protestants than even the tortures of the Inquisition! See Milman, "History of Latin Christianity;" Gregnovius, "Geschichte Roms im Mittelalter;" the chronicles of Burchardus and Sufusura; and the dispatches of Giustinian, just published by Villari.

* See Fergusson, "History of Architecture," 1867, vol. ii., p. 630.

spiritual and temporal blessings in proportion as they yielded to the influences which radiated from Rome. But the history of the Romish capital and State during the whole mediæval period is that of an earthly pandemonium, where crime reveled unchecked and vice received the honors due to virtue. Foreign lands, too, have at all times been degraded, depraved, and miserable according to the extent to which their government and their social institutions have been molded and controlled by Rome.

Nor is there the slightest historical ground for believing that the ecclesiastical builders and artists of the ages in question were intellectually or morally above the general level of their times, or above that of the architects and hod-carriers, the railway contractors and navvies, who execute the plans of "ecclesiologists" and engineers in modern London and New York. The sickly sentimentality of ecclesiasticism infers the piety and purity of life of the church-builders and decorators of half-forgotten ages from the character of their works, as the critic, judging from the internal evidence of his writings, thought that Thomson must have been a great lover of athletic sports, rural life, and cold bathing; or as Tom Moore's hymnics prove him to have led a devout and godly life, while, with rare exceptions, all we know of

the actual biographies of mediæval religious artists shows that Calandrino, and Buffalmacco, and Dore di Topo, and Mariotto Albertinelli, and the like, were on the same moral plane as the majority of their professional brethren.

Many among the most ignorant and degraded classes in France, in Spain and Portugal, in Italy and in Spanish America, do not believe or profess any form of even nominal Christianity; while those of the same classes who call themselves Catholics are often as completely polytheistical and idolatrous in their religious faith and practice as the followers of any superstition ever invented by man; and Dr. Newman can not be ignorant that it is the teaching of his and their Church and its clergy which have made them so. If they worship "many gods, but no God," it is Jesuit Rome whose instructions and example they are following.

It is fashionable, especially among essayists, reviewers, and pamphleteers, to sneer at any expression of apprehension of danger from the extension of ecclesiastical influence and the spread of popular superstition in England and the United States, as, indeed, at earnestness of feeling on any moral question, or, in fact, on any subject more serious than the merits of a *danseuse*, the genealogy of a pug or a lap-

dog, or the approaching nuptials of a couple in high life. The diplomatic maxim, *Surtout, pas de zèle*, is a sacred canon in good society, especially in questions of ethics, criticism, and religion. A settled moral conviction of any sort is a weakness or provincialism, implying a want of knowledge of the social culture which is the real religion of this age; and any attempt at an exposure of the policy of Rome is triumphantly put down by classing it with the old vulgar mob-watchword of "No Popery." The most efficient allies of obscurantism and intellectual slavery are those who affect to believe that the religious liberties of Christendom are in no danger. It is undoubtedly true that in Protestant states, as England, Prussia, the United States, and in all countries where there is a strong, even if numerically small, Protestant population (as in France before the Great Catholic revival under Napoleon III.), Rome uses much caution in her policy, and employs every art to allay the jealous "prejudices" of the Protestants against her encroachments. The sermons of her clergy, her periodical press, her popular religious literature, her schools, are dexterously toned so as to disarm suspicion and veil her real aims and purposes. Hence the populations of these countries are generally wholly ignorant as to the real pretensions and purposes of

that Church; and few of those under whose eyes this essay may fall have any knowledge of Romish legendary lore—the sole religious popular literature now current in Catholic nations—much of which has never been translated into English or German, but which will be introduced elsewhere as fast as the people can be prepared for it. This remark, however, is far less true at the present moment than it would have been twenty years ago. Since the definition of the new dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and especially of papal infallibility, Rome has become far bolder and more undisguisedly aggressive than before, and threats of the ultimate suppression of religious liberty have appeared even in American Catholic journals. Various political events have recently occurred which have supplied the priesthood with new arguments, if not new instruments. Many liberal-minded persons in various European countries have lately been driven into conservatism by the artful use made of the excesses of the Communists of Paris, who certainly perpetrated in 1871 atrocities frightful enough to need no exaggeration, but upon whom the Thiers Government has succeeded in throwing the responsibility of much destruction committed by its own troops in putting down the Commune, and commencing the work of "vengeance"

so emphatically threatened by Mr. Thiers. The fear of "petroleum" has been a very efficient bugbear among the wealthy and aristocratic circles. The Jesuits have availed themselves of this feeling, and their own ranks, as well as those of the older regular orders, have in recent years been, in an uncommonly large proportion, recruited from those classes. The notion of a solidarity between the aristocracy and the Church is industriously propagated. Titles of nobility, orders, and decorations are largely distributed by the papacy, and many a vacillating Catholic in the higher ranks is reclaimed by the bestowal of a star or a ribbon. At the same time, as nothing comes amiss to the net of the great "Fisherman," Rome has profited by the lessons of Napoleon III., who taught, in his doctrine of universal suffrage, the importance of securing the lower classes, which wield the brute force of nations, and, of course, will be especially needed in the appeal to the sword now undisguisedly proclaimed by the Jesuits, as the final arbiter of the great social question. They are as assiduous in wheedling the *mud-sills* as in cajoling the ranks which form the *pastigia*, the summits and pinnacles, of the social fabric. In short, Rome is preparing to attack, both from above and from below, the middle classes, who are everywhere the true depositaries of

the strength, the intelligence, and the virtue of the modern world.

The real security of modern society from a return of the moral and intellectual midnight of the "Ages of Faith" is not to be found in the dilettantisms of social or literary culture, or in the indifference of skepticism. If we are saved at all from these menacing perils, it must be by appeals to the reason and conscience of classes whose training comes, and must always come, as much from active, intelligent, and responsible participation in the serious and thoughtful duties of life as from literary and scientific attainment. One of these classes we have already pointed out, and the other is fast growing in strength and importance by what we do not hesitate to call the most hopeful movement in the social and intellectual history of man since the Founder of the Christian religion virtually proclaimed the emancipation of the female sex by prohibiting arbitrary divorce at the pleasure of the husband. We mean the recognition of the right of woman to the best development of her faculties which the resources of modern progress furnish to either sex. The redemption of the mind and heart of woman from the blind submission to moral authority, which has so long been inculcated upon her as the natural law of her sex, will deprive priest-

craft and imposture of their easiest conquests and their most efficient instruments. The saints and seers of modern superstition are nearly all women. In all ages, women, from their depressed and dependent position, their feeble and nervous bodily organization, the comparative ignorance in which their lords have kept them, and their consequent too general weakness of character, have been frequently mediums, if not originators, of religious imposture. The prevalence of the false and demoralizing principle, proclaimed by priests and libertines alike, that women should "cultivate the affections" at the expense of the intellect, prepares them to become willing instruments in the hands of any designing man who succeeds in securing their sympathy and good-will; and the cunning so often found associated with physical and even intellectual weakness makes them dexterous auxiliaries in spreading popular delusions. These circumstances explain the readiness with which they habitually abandon the faith of their fathers and their childhood for more sensational or more imaginative forms of religious belief and worship. Religious propagandism finds in them its first disciples, its most efficient apostles, and the recruiting-sergeants, the *Seelenverkäufer*, of Rome begin their operations upon Protestant circles by misleading the women.

So long as the current of fashion sets toward ceremonialism in religion, so long

> "Cowls, hoods, and habits * * *
> * * * rags, relics, beads,
> Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,"

and the preachers who teach their flocks to

> "seek to please
> A God, a spirit, with such toys as these,"

will succeed in catching the fancy of shallow women; but when knowledge, mental discipline, and, above all, a far wider and higher sphere of action, shall have become the acknowledged right and the actual possession of the sex, they will, in much larger proportion, cherish faiths which ask the evidence of no new miracles, worships which can be paid without help of material appliances.

APPENDIX.

I.

ECCLESIASTICAL FORGERIES.

THE monastic forgeries of the Middle Ages form a subject altogether too vast to be disposed of by a simple reference to their existence as a well-established and familiarly known fact. The multitude of these spurious documents, the wide range of objects they embrace, and the extent to which the Romish Church is indebted to them for the success of her usurpations of power, are little understood in Protestant countries. The thorough investigation and complete exposure of these fabrications is no longer possible, for so many of the evidences of their falsity have been destroyed by the keepers of the ecclesiastical archives where they were deposited, that in many cases the history and immediate purpose of the concoction of documents now certainly known to be false can not be traced. This much, however, is certain: that there are few cases of contested right on the part of the Romish Church in which forged documents, adduced by the papacy, have not at some period or other contributed to the support and final acceptance of its claims.

In the case of the "False Decretals," the work of an unknown author, though ascribed at first to Isidore of Seville, and afterward to an apocryphal Isidore Mercator, or Peccator — and which, from the middle of the ninth to the end of the fifteenth century, received the almost universal assent of Catholic ecclesiastical writers—the genuineness of the documents is no longer insisted upon by Rome. They have served their purpose. Use has confirmed the usurpations they sanctioned, and the papacy now holds by prescription what it indisputably first acquired by forgery and fraud.

Catholic historians, though acknowledging the fabrication, sometimes affect to doubt whether the Decretals ever had much practical influence. But Döllinger, who, however heretical at present, was orthodox in 1863, when he published his "Papstfabeln des Mittelalters," speaking, in the preface to that work, of these and other mediæval ecclesiastical forgeries, says: "All these fables and inventions, however different may have been the occasions which gave birth to them, and however definite or indefinite may have been the objects of their composition, [wie absichtlich oder unabsichtlich sie entstanden sein mögen], exerted nevertheless a great and often decisive influence upon the whole current of opinion in the Middle Ages, upon the historical and poetical literature, and upon the theology and jurisprudence of that period." The "False Decretals" contain the Apostolic Canons, the pretended donation of Constantine, fifty-nine letters or decrees attributed to thirty different popes of the primitive ages, various genuine extracts from an older collection long supposed to have been made by Isidore of Seville, and thirty-seven apocryphal pontifical decrees, with some other less important pieces. Although the collection contains here and there an unimportant authentic paper, and some garbled and distorted extracts from genuine documents, yet in general it is a work of sheer invention, and for three centuries has been universally admitted to be so by all Catholics, except possibly some half-taught English or American perverts to whose newborn zeal the spurious origin of the Decretals is not a fatal objection.

Perhaps the most important single document in this congeries of forgeries is the alleged donation of the Emperor Constantine giving to the Church, in sovereignty, a great multitude of houses, lands, and extensive territories in every part of the empire, numerous civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, rights, privileges, and honorary distinctions, all crowned by the bestowal of Rome and Italy upon the papacy, in return for his baptism and his miraculous cure of the leprosy by Pope Silvester; the baptism, the cure, and "Pope Silvester" alike being all invented for the occasion. The comprehensive language of the donation gave room for much variety of interpretation, and by some it was held to embrace all the Mediterranean islands, and

even Ireland, which the papacy afterward generously bestowed upon the crown of England. The mere fact that the grant professed to convey an immense number of estates and other rights to which the emperor himself had no title was no argument against its authenticity; for in all ages men generally, and *a fortiori* emperors and princes, have found it an easy matter to give what did not belong to them. The genuineness of the grant was doubted by nobody except the unlucky owners of the territories transferred, and they were in the minority, and in most cases not strong enough to resist a claim advanced under the authority of the emperor and supported by the thunders of the Church. Not a voice was raised against the genuineness or validity of this preposterous instrument, until the time of Wycliffe, near the close of the fourteenth century. Many, indeed, seeing the enormous evils resulting from the exercise of temporal power by the Church, a power founded on this forged donation, deplored the important grant,* but none questioned its authentic character or legally binding force, and for more than five hundred years the title of the papacy to all the vast possessions thus ostensibly conveyed to it was supposed to be as incontestable as the right of any sovereign, or any private possessor, to the territory or estate over which he claimed dominion.

Although the date and authorship of the "False Decretals" have not yet been historically established, yet they are known to have been in existence as early as the middle of the ninth century, and Pope Nicholas I. (A.D. 858–867) recognized them as authentic, and gave them the full weight of the papal sanction. The place of the fabrication of the "False Decretals" is as uncertain as the authorship. There is every *primâ-facie* probability that they emanated from Rome, and the rule *cui bono* points unmistakably to the chancery of the Papal Curia as the *locus in*

* "Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"
DANTE, *Inferno*, canto xix., vs. 115–118.

"Ah, Constantine! Of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy Father took from thee!"

quo of their composition. Still, the point is disputed, but it is unquestionable that from the time of Pope Nicholas I. to that of Alexander VI. they were accepted by every occupant of the Romish See, and formed the real basis of the pretensions of Rome to ecclesiastical and temporal sovereignty.

To use the language of Milman, "Latin Christianity," book v., ch. iv.: "The 'False Decretals' do not merely assert the supremacy of the popes—the dignity and privileges of the Bishop of Rome—they comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline of the Church, the whole hierarchy from the highest to the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to Rome. They are full and minute on Church property, on its usurpation and spoliation; on ordinations, on the sacraments, on baptism, confirmation, marriage, the eucharist; on fasts and festivals; the discovery of the cross, the discovery of the reliques of the apostles; on the chrism, holy water, consecration of churches, blessing of the fruits of the field, on the sacred vessels and habiliments." Take these away, and what is left of the characteristic and peculiar features or exclusive claims of the Romish Church?

The Decretals constitute the foundation of the claims of Rome to temporal and ecclesiastical supremacy, of most of her dogmas and all her discipline. In short, whatever is distinctive in her faith and practice is traceable directly to what Rome herself has been forced to acknowledge to be a magazine of lies. "They are now," says Milman, "given up by all; not a voice is raised in their favor; the utmost that is done by those who can not suppress all regret at their explosion is to palliate the guilt of the forger, to call in question or to weaken the influence which they had in their own day and throughout the later history of Christianity."

The period during which these forgeries were universally believed to be both genuine and for the most part of divine authority, embraces the reigns of the great pontifical organizers of the Romish Church, as the supreme head of ecclesiastical and temporal power; Nicholas I., Sergius II., Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX.; in short, nearly the whole of what is known as the second, or strictly mediæval, era of the Catholic Church. It is to this era, and to the "False Decretals"

which, during those many centuries, were constantly appealed to as the highest of sanctions, that most of the worst abuses of the Church belong; and it is certain that Rome by means of them became what she is, and acquired that "possession" of her usurpations which, according to the proverb, constitutes nine points of the law. Rome, it is true, does not now directly quote the "False Decretals" as evidences of her title, but she constantly cites them at second-hand as irrefragable proofs and authorities, in pontifical decrees which have no other foundation.

The denunciation of this atrocious forgery by Wycliffe and his followers by no means checked the career of Romish falsification. Forged conveyances and testaments appropriating lands to what were called "pious uses"—in other words, to the benefit of the priesthood—were so frequent that it is hardly extravagant to say that a mediæval deed or will of this character is, as a general rule, presumptively spurious. The manufacturing of false writings was by no means confined to legal instruments; but, after the revival of learning, it extended into the domain of literature. Not only were classic authors perverted and corrupted in the monastic copies, but whole works were composed in the names of ancient writers, and some of those long maintained currency as genuine productions of ancient Greece and Rome. The detection of the forgeries of Annius of Viterbo and other counterfeiters produced, for a time, a general panic among the devotees of ancient learning, and the feeling of distrust in regard to old manuscripts went so far, that some able critics even maintained that the whole body of extant Greek and Roman literature was but a product of the ingenuity and leisure of mediæval cloisters. The learned Lipsius, though too good a Catholic to charge such frauds upon holy men who had retired from the wicked world to the sacred seclusion of conventual life, argued in the sixteenth century, in an essay now little known, that the "Commentaries" of Cæsar were not the work of the great Roman, but of a counterfeiter as ignorant as he was impudent.

One of the most signal instances of ecclesiastical forgery is that of the bull establishing the Inquisition in Portugal. A saintly and zealous priest, to save himself the trouble of a jour-

ney to Rome to obtain the necessary authorization to worry the obstinate Moorish, Jewish, and Albigensian heretics of that kingdom, drew up a papal bull nominating him Grand Inquisitor of Portugal, with full power to arrest, imprison, torture, and burn guilty or suspected persons, and entered at once, with a sufficient staff, upon the discharge of his sacred functions. When he was in the full tide of successful experiment, and had already celebrated several joyous *autos-da-fé*, in which he had immolated many unbelieving men, women, and children, a pious *confrère*, jealous of the success of his excellent brother, reported his proceedings to the papacy, to which, of course, the bull was known to be spurious. But though "Rome never authorizes, she sometimes pardons invasion of her exclusive rights," and as the self-constituted Grand Inquisitor had shown himself as merciless and as energetic a persecutor as Torquemada or De Arbues, it was thought prudent not to convert so pious an act into a scandal to the Church, and accordingly the counterfeit bull was confirmed, and the zeal of the ingenious inventor was rewarded and inflamed by the bestowal of new powers and new honors.

The principles of what is called "diplomatic" criticism were first investigated in the scholastic establishment of the Brothers of Common Life—of whom we shall give some account in a following page—and we are not aware that any forgeries are chargeable to the members of this order, which, though at last sanctioned by the papacy, was never regarded with favor by the Holy See. If modern scholarship is provided with a sound paleographical code, and with safe tests by which to try the genuineness of ancient writings, it is indebted for this advantage much more to the patient labors of the humble *Fratres Communis Vitæ* than to the papal chancery, which has exhibited far greater zeal in defending than in exposing forgeries, however palpable.

II.

OPINION IN CATHOLIC COUNTRIES ON RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

THE extent to which Catholicism is interwoven with the political institutions, the social system, and the daily life of the French, Spanish, and Italian peoples has not always been duly considered in speculations on the possibility of weaning these nations from their adherence to the Romish Church. At the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, indeed—when the old Roman empire appeared to have vanished altogether; when the corruptions of the Church had brought the papacy into almost universal discredit; when France, Spain, and Italy had no longer any great interests in common; and when the latter country had not yet begun seriously to hope for the restoration of the national unity—there was a strong tendency in the intelligent classes to the abandonment of the traditional religion of Rome, and the adoption of a faith drawn from purer sources. Each of those countries had its reformers, sympathizing more or less with Luther; and there is abundant reason to believe that but for the intervention of the civil power they would all have, in a great degree, emancipated themselves from the moral and spiritual tyranny of Rome. The triumphs of Charles V. not only restored the ascendency of the Romish See, but by bringing into subjection to a single sceptre a vast proportion of the territory of old Rome, and more than compensating the loss of the remainder by the possession of the Indies, they revived the fading memories of the dominion of the Cæsars, and encouraged dreams of the revival of a universal empire. The papacy had, from an early period, claimed to be the legitimate successor and representative of the emperors of the West; and this pretension, though not formally recognized, has not been thoroughly and radically repudiated by any of the Latin races. The pope claimed to reign through the territorial sovereigns. They were to receive investiture from his hands; they were accountable to him for the exercise of powers derived from him, and liable to deposition by him for abuse of those powers.

It was this political superstition which led Napoleon I. to desire the imposition of his crown by the hands of a pope; and Napoleon III. was animated by this feeling in his visionary plans for consolidating the "Latin peoples" into a sort of confederation of sovereignties, of which he was to be the temporal, and the pope the spiritual, head. The expedition to Mexico was avowedly a part of this insane scheme, which embraced also the overthrow of the American Republic; and this explains in part the persistent hostility of Rome to the Federal Government—a fact admitted and lamented by Montalembert—during the whole of our late civil war.

The liberalists in all the countries of Southern Europe are theoretically in favor of severing all connection between Church and State; but when they come to the practical division of rights and duties between the two, unforeseen difficulties present themselves. First, there is the inborn and inbred conviction, or at least vague sentiment, that a state church, or national organized spiritual power, is a necessary part of the machinery of civil government. When you enter into questions of detail on this subject with a Frenchman, an Italian, or a Spaniard, who may have personally repudiated all allegiance to Rome, you do not get far before your interlocutor meets you with the query, But what are we to do with the papacy? In a conversation of this sort with one of the most eminent European scientists, the writer replied to this inquiry, Deprive it of all legal power, subject it to the general law of the land, and let it alone. "Well," said he, "I see that that is the logical result of my own principles; but I can not overcome the prejudices of my education, which prompt me to sustain a church in which I do not believe." The idea of a political state is complex, and the notion of the Church as an element in the State is too firmly rooted in the European mind to be easily eradicated. There are thousands of intelligent statesmen everywhere in the Old World who utterly reject the papacy as a moral or spiritual guide for themselves, but to whom a proposal to deprive it of its usurped privileges and possessions, and to reduce it to the level of a private corporation, is as startling as a suggestion for the amendment of the British Constitution by abolishing the judiciary system, and leaving the citizens to settle their legal controversies between

themselves, would be to an Englishman. The Spaniard may see plainly that the Church is an embarrassing institution, which interferes very seriously with the proper action of the organs of civil government, but still he can not get rid of the impression that, after all, the superfluous fifth wheel to the coach is connected with the normal four by some sort of obscure cog-greasing, the removal of which might derange the whole machine. For this reason, and for the supposed solidarity between the interests of the Church and those of the aristocracy, to which we have alluded in the text, there is in all Catholic countries a wide-spread feeling that a moral Mezentian necessity has indissolubly united the breathing and palpitating body of the living nation to the dead corpse of the Church, and that Rome and the Latin races must stand or fall together. This sentiment is in a great degree the inspiring element in Gioberti's speculations on the *Primato d' Italia*. It floated hazily and confusedly in the mind of the first Napoleon, when he said, "The Mediterranean is a French lake." One of the greatest blessings which could befall these races would be the laying of these ghosts of the Cæsars which *spook* in the national brain of the whole of them. Even Protestant Latins are not wholly free from this superstition. Guizot cherished it in his dotage, and in 1861 he wrote a pamphlet in defense of the temporal power of the papacy. With Catholics it is almost universal. A Catholic politician may himself shun the church as a pest-house, and even encourage his sons to share in his skepticism; but he commits his daughters to clerical instructors, and is not content unless his wife keeps on good terms with her confessor.

When the dogma of the personal infallibility of the pope was under discussion in the Ecumenical Council, and most liberal Romanists hoped for its defeat, a well-known protesting Catholic predicted the triumph of the measure, and added that his co-religionists were mistaken in supposing that the adoption of the dogma would practically weaken the papacy. On the contrary, he argued that the defiant boldness of the council in obeying the *consigne* of its Jesuit leaders would overawe opposition, both within the Church and without it; that the civil governments in the Latin countries would not have the moral courage to resist this aggression on the liberties of their peoples;

that the adoption of the dogma would give a unity and concentration to the government of the Church which would redouble its energy, and render it practically irresistible. In all contests, he said, the assailant has the advantage of the momentum of a movement of attack, as well as of the fear inspired by the confidence displayed in the attitude of the aggressor. Rome will abandon her defensive position, march out from behind the intrenchments, and make a desperate and probably successful effort to storm the camp of the enemy.

Thus far these predictions have been at least partially verified. Governments have paltered with the insolent encroachments of the papacy on their proper prerogatives, and tamely submitted to attempts to corrupt the loyalty of their citizens, and even of their soldiery, which in a moral, if not in a strictly technical, sense amount to treason; weak men have trembled before the arrogance of a power which proclaims itself supreme over the God-given faculties of reason and conscience; and thus far the advancing march of Rome to universal conquest has been nowhere, except in the German states, formally resisted.

Time will show, we trust, that this blare of trumpets, though full of sound and fury, signifies nothing. An open attack, however audacious, or even appalling in its display of force, often proves less dangerous than the insidious advance of a concealed foe. It is only slaves who quail at the threat of scourges and shackles; and the nations which shook off the papal yoke when Rome was sustained by all the power of a Charles the Fifth will not resume it at the bidding of a council.

III.

THE BROTHERS OF COMMON LIFE.

THE fraternity entitled the Brothers of Common Life was established and organized by Gerhard Groot, a religious and educational reformer of the fourteenth century, and it continued to exist, in a modified form, until the invention of printing superseded its literary labors, and the spread of the Reforma-

tion dissolved most of the religious houses of Northern Europe. Groot was a native of Deventer, but was educated at the University of Paris. After completing his course of study at that famous seminary, he engaged in instruction in the higher branches of knowledge, and acquired great reputation as a lecturer on metaphysics and theology.

After some years spent in academic teaching he was ordained a deacon, and devoted himself to popular preaching, not occupying himself with theological discussion or definition of dogma, but directing all his efforts to the reformation of the lives of the clergy and the laity, who vied with each other in impiety and profligacy. The death of his father having left him in affluent circumstances, he resolved to devote his means to the cause of instruction, and he collected at his own house a number of scribes whom he employed in copying Bibles, works of the fathers of the Church, and other religious books, some of which he translated himself, from Latin into Dutch, for the copyists. The sphere of activity of the fraternity was enlarged, and its members adopted the rule of living neither upon the liberality of Groot nor upon charity, as was then common among the monastic orders, but upon the proceeds of their own labor in writing and in giving instruction in schools, of which they founded a large number. The adoption of the principle that the members should earn their own bread excited the hostility of the mendicant friars, as Groot had foreseen, and the Brothers of Common Life underwent a long persecution from these orders, but finally succeeded in obtaining the papal recognition. Thus far the Brothers were under no vow, but later they became organized in regular monasteries, retaining, however, the cardinal principles of their original organization. Their houses were numerous in Holland, Germany, and France, and they rendered important services to literature by their transcriptions of religious and of secular manuscripts, by their critical labors in the establishment of correct texts, and by their schools, in which many of the ablest scholars and theologians of the Reformatory period—among others, Erasmus and Thomas à Kempis—were trained.

The teachings of the "Imitatio Christi" are believed by those who ascribe that celebrated work to Thomas à Kempis to be

the expression of the doctrines of the Brothers of Common Life, and to have been imbibed by him in their schools. But, in general, the views of the Brothers seem to have been of a less subjective and quietistic tendency than those of the author of the "Imitatio;" and it is not, perhaps, out of place to remark here that the conclusions as to the authorship of the treatise in question, which have generally prevailed since the publication of Monseigneur Malon's essay on the subject, have been contested with much learning and ability by Carlo Dionisotti, in a memoir in his "Notizie Biografiche dei Vercellesi Illustri," Turin, 1862. Dionisotti claims the "Imitatio Christi" as the production of neither à Kempis nor of John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, a member of the Council of Constance, to whom many have ascribed it, but of John Gersen, a Vercellese of the fourteenth century. If Dionisotti has not conclusively established this theory, he has at least refuted the arguments of Monseigneur Malon against it, and the question must be regarded as still *sub judice.*

IV.

THE INQUISITION AT ROME.

KELLER, in "L'Encyclique du 8 Décembre, 1864, et les Principes de 1789," in speaking of the mildness of the Inquisition, says: "Ses bûchers n'ont jamais fumé à Rome"—its piles have never smoked at Rome; and defenders of the Romish Church in both England and the United States have publicly declared that no instance has ever occurred of the infliction of the punishment of death through the agency of the Inquisition at Rome.

These sweeping statements are so notoriously false, that it is surprising that their authors should have presumed so far upon the ignorance and credulity of the public as to make them. The case of Giordano Bruno alone, which is as familiarly known to the students of Romish Church history as the martyrdom of John Rogers to those of the religious persecutions in England, ought to have deterred the apologists of the Inquisition from making an assertion so easily refuted.

Before the thirteenth century, the functions of the Inquisition were discharged by the bishops in their respective dioceses, and it is doubtful whether the Inquisition had any organization as a distinct institution at an earlier period. In 1238, Gregory IX. instructed the Provincial of the Order of Preachers in Lombardy to appoint special ecclesiastical officers charged regularly, and, as it seems, exclusively, with the functions of the Inquisitorial office. Regular inquisitions were soon after established throughout Catholic Europe, and the Holy Office at Rome was organized as early as the fourteenth century. It is true that, for reasons of policy, the papacy denied itself the luxury of general *autos-da-fé* at Rome itself; but the dungeons of the Inquisition at that city were frequently crowded with prisoners, who, as there is reason to believe, were often secretly dispatched by starvation, or by prolonged torture or other violence. The statistics of the Roman Inquisition were never accessible to the public; and all the compromising records of that institution, together with many other dangerous papers, were burned just before the entrance of the royal troops into Rome, on the 20th of September, 1870.

In various works, and among others, in a life of Garibaldi, published in 1849–'50, it is asserted, upon what appears to be good authority, that after the hegira of Pius IX., the republicans found in the prisons of the Roman Inquisition a great number of human skeletons, which could have been no other than those of victims of that tribunal. We shall not, however, insist upon these statements, because we have not the means of verifying them. It would lead us too far from our present immediate purpose to go into an examination of the administration of the Holy Office at Rome, and, without referring to researches the results of which might be disputed, we will content ourselves with citing a very few well-known and undeniable instances, from which our readers may judge of the good faith of those who palliate or deny the atrocities with which the Inquisition is charged.

Arnold of Brescia was an eminent reformer, who made himself particularly odious in the twelfth century by preaching against the vices of the clergy and the temporal power of the Church. In the time of Adrian IV. the partisans of the tem-

poral power drove Arnold from the city, but he was soon after arrested in the Neapolitan territory, at the personal request of the pope, brought to Rome, tried, condemned, and strangled; his body was publicly burned, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber. It may be said that this is not shown to be a technical case of condemnation and punishment by the Inquisition, because it is not certain that the Inquisition had yet been formally organized; but the arrest was made at the instance of the pope, the trial and condemnation were by the ecclesiastical functionaries who officiated as Inquisitors in other cases, and in all but possibly in name it was an instance of Inquisitorial action.

Early in the fifteenth century, B. degli Ordelaffi, Merenda, and Matteo di Frosinone were arrested upon a charge of heresy. Ordelaffi escaped by bribing his jailers, and was condemned *in contumaciam.* His less fortunate companions, Merenda and Matteo, were brought before the Inquisition at Rome, tried as heretics, and sentenced to be burned at the stake. The sentence was executed at Rome, and the houses of the heretics were leveled with the ground. In the sixteenth century permission was given to reoccupy the vacant site, and houses were built upon it which were inhabited by Michael Angelo and Salvator Rosa.

The case of Aonio Paleario is scarcely less notorious than that of Giordano Bruno. Paleario wrote several anti-Romish theological works, and is the probable author of a treatise more celebrated than any of his positively known writings. This is the "De Beneficio Christi Mortis," or the Benefits of the Death of Christ, which had an immense circulation, and, though it did not directly attack the Church, was most damaging to her pretensions by its advocacy of the doctrine of justification by faith instead of by works, that is, by performing the penances imposed by the priest, which were among the most productive sources of gain to the Church. Paleario was arrested in Tuscany, by order of Pius V., and brought to Rome. He was tried before the Inquisition and charged with having countenanced some of the doctrines of Luther, and with having said that the Inquisition was a weapon against free discussion of religious questions. He was condemned, and hanged at Rome on the 3d of July, 1570, and his body was publicly burned.

Equally indisputable, and even more celebrated, is the case of the famous Giordano Bruno, a Neapolitan philosopher, born not far from 1550, to which we have already alluded. He entered the Dominican order, but abandoned the monastic habit, and passed several years in France, England, and Germany, in all of which countries he acquired immense renown as a lecturer and philosophical writer. His views were much the same as those of Spinosa; and, though he did not engage in controversial attack upon Rome, his opinions were heretical. Returning to Italy, he was arrested by the Inquisition at Venice in 1598, sent to Rome, confined two years in prison, and upon his refusal to recant, condemned by the Inquisition to be burned at the stake, which sentence was executed in Rome on the 17th of February, A.D. 1600.

"Banks and his horse" are often mentioned by English writers of the Shakspearian age. Banks was a professional horse-tamer, the Rarey of his time, who had taught a horse to dance and perform various other tricks. He exhibited his animal with success in many cities on the Continent, and at last unluckily ventured to Rome, where he hoped to fill his pockets by diverting the pope and his court. But Banks was an Englishman and, presumably, a heretic. There could be no doubt, therefore, that the horse was a devil incarnated in the form of a quadruped, and horse and man were brought before the Inquisition, condemned on a charge of sorcery, and burned alive together.

These cases, were others wanting, would be sufficient to show that the pretense that the Inquisition never took life at Rome is without foundation.

Of course, in a city filled with priests and priestly spies, and where almost every citizen was directly or indirectly a pensioner of the papacy, heresy would not often be publicly professed, and the occasions for the intervention of the Inquisition, to punish and suppress it, would be less frequent than in strictly secular communities inhabited by multitudes of lay citizens, differing widely from each other in habits, education, and associations. It is, therefore, not strange that among the Jewish and Moorish population of Spanish and Portuguese towns there should be found a larger number of unbelievers than in clerical Rome.

The pretended mildness of the Inquisition in the Roman State is a pure fiction; and there is no doubt that the proceedings of the Holy Office at Rome, though conducted perhaps with more secrecy and less ostentation of inhumanity, were as cruel and as unchristian as those of the sister tribunals in Spain.

The notorious "Directorium Inquisitorum," or "Inquisitorial Manual," of Eymeric was designed and employed as a guide and an authority to all Inquisitorial tribunals, whether exercising these functions at Rome or elsewhere. The edition of 1578, as appears from the preface, was prepared at the express instance of the Directors of the General Inquisition at Rome, and printed at the public press, *in ædibus populi Romani*, in that city, under a privilege from Pope Gregory XIII., who permitted this sad monument of wicked bigotry and sanguinary fanaticism to be dedicated to himself.

No Inquisition acted under any authority but that of the papacy. Its first officers were appointed, its earliest tribunals organized, its jurisdiction defined, its modes of procedure and the punishments it was empowered to inflict determined, by the Holy See. The condemnations for heresy almost uniformly charged the accused with the denial of Romish supremacy as the greatest of his crimes. The chief office of the Inquisition everywhere was, not the promotion of a pure and holy life, but the maintenance of the powers and prerogatives usurped by the papacy. It was an agent of the papacy, which was, and, not having repudiated its atrocities, still is, morally responsible for all its crimes against God and man.

We are told that the Inquisition now nowhere exists except in the form of an office for the censure of books. But why does it not exist? Simply because, with all its short-comings, civil society in Catholic countries has become, in spite of the resistance of Rome, too enlightened and too humanized to tolerate this nefarious instrument of papal ambition and papal hate against religious light and liberty. Had Rome the power, the Holy Office would at once resume its functions over the whole civilized world. The rules which the papacy prescribed for it, the jurisdiction the popes conferred upon it centuries ago, are still in force, unrepealed, unmodified by the unchangeable, irreformable Church. The Encyclical of 1864 condemns as a damna-

ble error the doctrine that the Church has not the right to resort to force in the maintenance of what she claims as her rights; and none who have watched the recent history of Rome can doubt that she would use force against every material and every moral resistance to her aggressions, if her ancient moral and physical power were restored to her.

The tone of the papal briefs respecting the suppression of heresy by the Inquisition and by other measures shows clearly that, so far from admitting that any of her powers were subservient to the uses of the State, the Church always claimed and exercised authority to dictate civil legislation against heretics, and to compel the lay authorities to enforce the penalties prescribed by such legislation or by the Church.

Thus Innocent IV., in a brief of the year 1252 addressed to the Provincial and Inquisitors of Lombardy and the adjacent provinces, after reciting that it was considered that enlarged powers and jurisdiction would make their ministry more fruitful, proceeds to instruct them to require all municipal bodies, of whatever designation, in those provinces, to incorporate into their jurisprudence all the decrees of the papacy and other ecclesiastical and secular ordinances against heretics, their protectors, and associates, and strictly to observe and enforce them, upon pain of ecclesiastical censure, without appeal. In support of this brief, the pope issued another of the same date addressed to the municipalities and other civil authorities of the above-mentioned provinces, referring to the former brief, and repeating the same injunctions on pain of ecclesiastical censures.

Not content with these general instructions, His Holiness, apparently on the same day, issued a much fuller brief, addressed to the same municipalities and other civil authorities, setting forth, at great length, certain constitutions for the suppression of heresy, which the municipalities were to accept and record as a part of their own legislative codes, and adding that the provincial and Inquisitors had been commanded, in case of failure to accept and enforce these constitutions by the civil authorities, to proceed against such authorities by personal excommunication, and interdict against those territories, without appeal.

The constitutions require every chief civil officer to swear that he would observe and enforce all ordinances, civil and ecclesiastical, against heretics, and declares that all such civil officers as may refuse to take this oath, "*pro potestatibus vel rectoribus nullatenus habeantur, et quæ, ut potestates vel rectores fecerint, nullam penitut habeant firmi talem*"—shall be holden to be authorities and rulers no longer; and whatever they may do in the capacity of authorities and rulers shall be wholly without validity. The civil authorities are to pronounce a decree of banishment against all heretics, of whatever age or sex, and any person may seize and retain as his own the goods and effects of any heretic. All houses in which heretics have been found are to be destroyed, and the property contained in them confiscated. The constitutions contain about thirty other provisions on the subject of proceedings against heresy.

The same pontiff issued, in 1254, a brief addressed to the same provincial and Inquisitors, by which a crusade against heretics is ordered to be preached, and the ecclesiastics are directed to confer upon all who will take it upon themselves to aid in extirpating heresy the sign of the cross, with all the indulgences and privileges granted to crusaders to the Holy Land. Another general brief of Innocent IV., addressed, in 1254, to all the faithful in Christ, renews the condemnation of heretics, and prescribes additional penalties against them and their patrons or defenders; and the preaching of a crusade against them is again ordered, with many additional privileges to the crusaders, by a second brief issued at Anagni in the same year.

We do not find in these briefs, or, indeed, in any pontifical declarations, any evidence of the pretended subserviency of the Inquisition to political supremacy. On the contrary, all civil authorities are held subject to the orders of the Inquisition. Some of the briefs above cited, as well as other early pontifical writings of similar character, refer to the laws of the Emperor Frederick against heretics, and enjoin the strict observance of them. These laws were promulgated by the emperor as a concession to the papacy to which they were in some sort necessary, because the Inquisition had not yet been formally organized. But after this tribunal had been generally established as a special jurisdiction, the Church required the sanction of civil law

no longer, and issued its decrees directly to the Inquisitors as its own peculiar functionaries.

At this day, when "ecclesiastical censures" not only are generally without legal validity, but are resorted to only as a means of constraint upon individuals, and have become wholly obsolete as a weapon against the civil power, the threat of such censures does not seem very formidable. But in the thirteenth century, the ecclesiastical censures, which prelates and other officers of the Church were authorized to inflict by the briefs above quoted, included the power of laying an *interdict* on both places and persons recusant; and, in fact, one of the briefs we have cited expressly menaces the disobedient with the imposition of an interdict. Since the Reformation, no pope has dared to impose any thing beyond a personal interdict on any Catholic state, except in the case of Venice, which Pope Paul V. thus laid under the ban of the Church in 1606. There were also interdicts against England after her emancipation from the papal yoke, but this pretended exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a country which had renounced allegiance to the papacy was but *brutum fulmen*, or, as we say, thunder without the bolt.

So long as the power of the Church was sustained by the ignorance and superstition of the Middle Ages, the interdict was the most terrible of the weapons wielded by the Romish clergy. An interdicted person was an outlaw; none might give him fire or clothing, food or water. If the interdict was local, the churches were closed; no bells could be rung; religious services, if allowed at all, could be performed only in secret; the crosses and decorations of religious edifices were veiled or hidden; Lenten food only could be taken; the mother could not even give a kiss to her babe. Interdicts were enforced with various degrees of severity, and were sometimes, like the general excommunications and anathemas which the present pope scatters with so liberal a hand, little more than nominal. The papacy has never renounced the right of imposing them.

But though interdicts have long been disused, traditional popular superstition still regards them with great dread in many Catholic countries. During the French occupation of Naples near the close of the last century, a French general employed the interdict as a weapon against brigandage. It is true

it would have been well understood in an enlightened nation that such means of coercion were not within the power of a general; but the very threat of an interdict by a French officer produced the speedy submission of a large district in Calabria. The people understood that the bells would be silent and the churches closed; that the priests would perform no religious functions, not even baptism, absolution for the dying, or the office for the dead; in short, that they could neither be born, married, nor buried, except under a curse. They did not stop to inquire into the authority of the general, but they knew that if he had not the right, he had at least the material power to prevent the priests from performing their usual functions, and they were glad to purchase the restoration of these important privileges by accepting the terms dictated by their foreign oppressor.

V.

PAPAL APPROVAL OF CONDEMNATION OF HUSS.

THE formal approval of the condemnation of Huss and Jerome of Prague, with the denunciation of the heresies of Wycliffe, was among the most important official acts of the first year of the pontificate of Martin V. It was promulgated at Constance while the Council was yet in session, in the month of March following the election of the pope. It fills ten large and closely printed folio pages, and is principally occupied with exhortations to Inquisitors and other ministers of the Church to be zealous in the extirpation of heresy, and in directions as to the *modus procedendi* in the examination and trial of persons suspected of that crime.

The enumeration of the errors of Wycliffe consists of five articles, some of which are pure calumnies against his teachings, and were probably not really believed to have been ever held by him, either by Pope Martin or by the members of the Council, to all of whom the writings of Wycliffe were better known than they are to the theologians of the present day. The errors most obnoxious to the Rome of that day are the de-

nial of the doctrine of the real presence, in the Catholic sense; the propositions that if a sinner is duly contrite, auricular confession is unnecessary; that an ecclesiastic in mortal sin can not lawfully exercise his office; that a pope profligate in character has no authority except as derived from the emperor; that the civil authority may sequester the property of a church administered by wicked men; that the people may hold their rulers accountable for abuse of power; that friars ought to earn their bread by their own labors, not by begging—the first clause of which proposition is denounced as scandalous and presumptuous, the last as erroneous; that the Decretals are apocryphal, and tend to wean from faith in Christ, and that the study of them by the clergy is folly; and that a belief in the supremacy of the Romish Church is not necessary to salvation. The concluding charge is that Wycliffe taught that all religions were inventions of the devil.

The errors of which Huss was convicted are thirty, most of them relating to the supremacy of the Romish Church and the authority of the papacy. Many a member of the late Ecumenical Council, in opposing the definition of the dogma of infallibility, took as strong ground against the pretensions of the papacy as Huss seems to have done, and not a few Catholic theologians now hold that the condemnation, not to speak of the sentence, of Huss was not sustained by the proofs against him.

VI.

PAPAL REMONSTRANCES AGAINST THE ABOLITION OF THE FORUM ECCLESIASTICUM.

THE allocution *Acerbissimum* was pronounced in consistory on the 27th of September, 1852, in reference to the abolition of the Forum Ecclesiasticum in the republic of New Granada. It is too long for insertion in this place, but the following is a synopsis of its contents. It begins with a complaint that in April, 1845, a law was enacted by the Government of that republic providing that when a criminal charge was pending in

a civil tribunal against an ecclesiastic, of whatever rank, such ecclesiastic should suspend the exercise of sacerdotal functions until the charge were disposed of. It then proceeds to state that the Holy See protested energetically against this law and also against the proposed legislative measures of the same Government—one abolishing tithes without consultation with the papacy, the other guaranteeing to all foreigners who should emigrate to New Granada the public exercise of their religion —and demanded that these laws should not be carried into effect, and "*ut Ecclesia suis omnibus juris ac plenâ frueretur libertate*" —that the Church should continue to enjoy all her rights and her full liberty. The allocution goes on to recite that the remonstrances of the Holy See had not been heeded, but that New Granada had made laws against the religious orders, and confirmed the expulsion of the Jesuits, "a religious family which, after being long desired and finally invited to establish itself in that country, had been of such great utility in regard to both social and Catholic interests." The republic had even gone so far as to forbid the establishment within its territory of any religious order bound by a vow of *passive obedience*, and had encouraged the abandonment of the monastic profession. Other enormities complained of were a legal provision that curates should be chosen by the heads of families of the parish, who had also power to fix their compensation; the transfer of the visitorship of the national college to the lay authorities; and a new constitution guaranteeing the liberty of the press and of public worship. Then follows a long *kyrielle* relating to the enforcement of these wise and just laws by the Government, and, at last, a passionate condemnation of the New Granadian Government for regarding marriage as purely a civil contract, and a solemn declaration that all marriages concluded otherwise than with the forms and sanctions prescribed by the Church are not only null, but criminal.

The allocution *Nunquam fore* was pronounced in consistory on the 15th of December, 1856, on occasion of like abuses by the Government of Mexico, and by that of the Swiss Confederation, and in tone and temper much resembles the *Acerbissimum*.

Besides these allocutions, His Holiness, in justice to himself, ought to have cited his consistorial allocution of November 1st,

1850, and his letter of September 19th, 1852, to the King of Sardinia, both of which are most objurgatory and most lachrymose, qualities, however, in which both are, perhaps, surpassed by the apostolical letter of August 22d, 1851, in condemnation of the errors of John Nepomucene Nuytz. Nuytz was a pestilent heretic, professor in the University of Turin, who had written a couple of scandalous works, entitled "Institutions de Droit Ecclésiastique," and "Traité de Droit Ecclésiastique Universel." Nuytz has the honor of having furnished much matter for reprobation in the Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.

VII.

ROMISH OPPOSITION TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES INTO MODERN LANGUAGES.

THE modern European tongues had no sooner become written languages than the hostility of Rome was aroused against the employment of them as a medium of religious instruction. Latin, the language of the Church, was at that period but imperfectly known except to persons educated for the priesthood, and who might, therefore, be safely intrusted with the use of the Scriptures in that tongue. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, French had already become a literary language, and Innocent III. thought it expedient to interfere to check the use of it for dangerous purposes. About the year 1200, he issued a brief, addressed to two high French ecclesiastics, setting forth that the Bishop of Metz had reported to the Holy See that in the diocese and city of that name a certain number of laymen and women, *laicorum at mulierum non immodica multitudo*, were applying themselves to translating the divine Scripture into French, holding secret meetings, and scorning the remonstrances of the priests. The Bishop and Chapter of Metz, says the brief, had been instructed to inquire who were the authors and what the motives of their translation, and whether the translators duly reverenced the Apostolic See and Holy Church. The bishop had reported that some of those people refused obe-

dience to the apostolic letters, were going on with the translation, continued to hold conventicles, to preach, though not licensed, and, worst of all, publicly to proclaim that God alone was to be obeyed by man, *obediendum esse soli Deo.* Of course, instructions were given for the suppression of the translation and the punishment of the offenders.

The principal danger then, as now, apprehended by Rome from translations of the Scriptures was that men who studied the word of God would adopt the rule, "*Obediendum esse soli Deo*"—we are to obey God rather than the pope, which, of all heresies, is the most pernicious.

VIII.

THE EDICT OF NANTES, AND ITS REVOCATION.

For a large part of the following sketch we are indebted to Lanfrey, "L'Église et les Philosophes au dix-huitième Siècle," Paris, 1857.

The Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV. of France, in 1598, after his abjuration of Protestantism and his elevation to the throne, and declared "irrevocable" upon the face of it, was accepted by the French nation, in spite of the resistance of Rome, as a part of the organic law of the kingdom. It restored peace and tranquillity to a country desolated by thirty-six years of civil war growing chiefly out of religious questions; and though it by no means placed the Protestants on a just and equal footing, it was, both in its character and its actual effects, one of the most beneficent measures ever adopted by the Government and people of that country.

The Edict of Nantes, drafted, it is said, by Jeannin, Schomberg, Calignon, and the celebrated historian De Thou, permitted to the Huguenots, or Protestants, the public exercise of their worship. It made them eligible to all offices; established in each provincial (judicial) parliament a chamber composed of magistrates of each religion; it allowed general conventions of persons of the Reformed religion; it authorized the Reformed

to lay taxes on members of their own Church for its support; it provided for the payment of their clergy, and gave them the possession of four fortified towns, including, as the most important, La Rochelle, to which so many English and American Protestants look as the old home, or, at least, resting-place, of their families, and the seat of the national patriarchate of their religion. The Reformed, or Huguenots, remained liable to the payment of tithes and the observance of the days of fast and feast appointed by the Catholic Church.

The Edict of Nantes not only restored peace to France, but it re-established France in the position she had long enjoyed in the great European commonwealth; it produced the revival, or rather the creation, of industrial arts of great economical importance, many of which were exercised almost exclusively by the Protestants; and it consequently augmented the commerce and contributed immensely to the material prosperity of the kingdom. Henry IV. was wise enough to turn these new moral and material conditions to as good account as the state of physical and political science then permitted, and if his successors had been as able, and as seriously devoted to the good of their people as he, the surpassing natural advantages of France would have been developed in the course of the seventeenth century to a degree which would have placed her far in advance of every other European nation.

During the early part of the long reign of Louis XIV., France was ruled by a regency, and it was not till 1661 that the king took into his own hands the government of his vast domain. In the mean time, though the stipulations of the Edict of Nantes had often been violated by the Catholic Government of the State, the aspirations of the Protestants to official power and consideration in the kingdom had been disappointed; and every measure had been employed to depress and humiliate the social position of the Reformed; yet they had grown in strength and in material prosperity. This increased importance had been gained rather by the elevation of the lower than by the influence of the higher classes, and by the development of industry and the general spread of intelligence which everywhere characterize Protestant in a higher degree than Catholic communities. Rome had never ceased to intrigue against the French

Protestants; and the two cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, who so long governed France, were animated in their policy toward the Reformed as much by sectarian hate as by jealousy of the rising power of the Protestants, which they affected to consider as the abnormal growth of a state within a state. Louis XIV. imbibed the prejudices of these ministers, who selected for him dexterous confessors, and cunningly brought to bear upon him the powerful influence of the Society of Jesuits as well as that of his mistresses, and they had little difficulty in obtaining his assent to the initial measures of open warfare against the Protestants. The final triumph was reserved to their successors.

As early as 1657, the clergy had already procured the revocation of various concessions to the Reformed. In the quinquennial Catholic clerical assembly of 1660, the priests complained of the erection of new Protestant churches and colleges; of the occupation of Catholic cemeteries by the Huguenots; of their proselytism, etc.; all of which they stigmatized as acts of *force* and *violence* against their quiet Catholic fellow-citizens.

It was usual for the clergy to fix, at these assemblies, a contribution to be paid by them to the exchequer of the State, which they treated as a dónation, but which was claimed by the Government as a tax. The nature and amount of this donation or tax were always the subject of disputes which generally terminated in some new concession to the clergy, some new infraction of the liberties which had been solemnly promised to the Huguenots. On the occasion we are now considering, the chief among the many grievances of the priests was the frequency of apostasies from the Church, brought about by the efforts of the Protestants. They demanded a decree forbidding the abandonment of Mother Church; the corporal punishment of relapsed heretics according to an ordinance of Charles IX.; and the exclusion of Protestants from all public office. "It is true," said they, "that by the terms of the Edict of Nantes, the king declared that those of the pretended Reformed religion might hold public office; but this privilege is contrary to divine law, because it is inconsistent with the dignity (*les bienséances*) of our religion. It violates the civil law, too, as well as the canon, which forbids the bestowal of office on the enemies of the faith." When the Intendant of Finance appeared before the

Assembly, according to custom, to demand what he claimed as a debt to the State, he met a prompt refusal which was twice repeated on a renewal of the demand. The intendant humbled himself before the Assembly, and the contribution was promised simply as a pure gratification. And gratis? Oh no! but upon certain conditions, of which no jot or tittle should be abated. The Church had suffered such wrongs that the Assembly was dismayed, and could not act directly on the subject till they were repaired.

The intendant promised signal reparation, and the clergy promised the money—*when* the reparation should have been made; and if not, not. Time passes, and the contribution is not forthcoming. The intendant appears for the fourth time, with a sachel full of decrees against the heretics. "As a matter of principle," said he, "conditions ought not to be imposed on the king; nevertheless, your conditions have not diminished his majesty's good-will. He gives you generously all you ask in anticipation of your donation. The vapors which may have arisen in the royal bosom from the warmth of this little discussion have been condensed into a gentle dew, a shower of decrees and declarations, which his majesty offers you in token of his affection." Then he produces from his port-folio thirteen edicts in favor of the clergy and against the Protestants. He spreads them out on the table, and exclaims, "Now the money, if you please!" Not at all. His majesty had rejected certain demands which seemed too oppressive. The clergy insist on the pound of flesh, and postpone the proposed gratuitous donation until these demands shall have been granted, and reduces the amount from four millions of livres to one million eight hundred thousand, which, upon due satisfaction, it raises to two millions.

At the Assembly of 1665, the intendant appeared again, and asked a new donation in a discourse evidently borrowed from a romance of the day. "Messieurs," said he, "on entering this hall, I felt, from the lustre of your persons and your purple, an effect, as it were, of the rays of the rising Aurora on the Egyptian statue of her son, which she animated every morning, and gave it an impulse which produced a melodious tune from the lyre and the *bow* in its hands." Fine words, though their rheto-

ric was a little marred by the evident supposition of the intendant that the lyre of Memnon was a fiddle. Even the touching conclusion, "Majesty's coffers are dry and empty," found no generous response from the mitred prelates. "Times are hard," said the presiding bishop; "the clergy are poor; you asked a great deal at the last Assembly." In short, you have not carried out your promises against the heretics. A little later, the deputy of the clergy addressed a formal harangue to the king in person, thanked him for the "wonderful zeal of his indefatigable defense of the altars, for demolishing the temples and suppressing the colleges of the Reformed." "Heresy is at its last gasp, great sire," said he, "but it must be crushed altogether. Strike the final blow!" etc., etc. He then went on to demand the suppression of the Protestant parliamentary chambers (a judicial guarantee granted by the Edict), and severe penalties against relapses. Banishment did not suffice; nothing short of the galleys, and now and then a little hanging, drawing, and quartering, would answer. The granting of these trifling favors was rewarded by a "gratuitous" donation of four million livres.

L'appétit vient en mangeant, and when, in 1670, our old friend the intendant, came again, the sour looks of his most reverend audience showed him at once that a stout resistance must be encountered, and he framed his action accordingly, on the principle of the song:

"Oh! how
Shall I deal with this horrible cow?
I will sit on the stile,
And continue to smile,
Till I soften the heart of this cow."

"I confess, messieurs," said he, "that the sight of your august Assembly hath confounded me, for I thought that after having so many times enjoyed the felicity of appearing before it, and contemplating its arrangement, the posture and the persons which compose it, my eyes, feeble though they be, would not be dazed by the gorgeous lustre of yourselves and your purple.

"But I experience the reverse, and acknowledge that I am gifted with naught of that high faculty which enableth the eaglet to gaze fixedly on the sun.

"The astonishing brilliancy of so many heavenly bodies overpowers me, and would strike me dumb, but that strength

is infused into me from the aspect of a dominant sun,* which comforts my sight and gives me courage to pronounce his orders. The dominant sun is our incomparable monarch of France, and I may justly apply this title to him as the first luminary, not only of France, but of the universal world, before whose brilliant rays the greatest stars of all other sovereignties pale their fires."

He concluded with the usual formula, "*Date obolum Belisario.*"

After the shameful decree of 1665, the king had vacillated in his policy toward the Huguenots, who were secretly favored by the great minister Colbert as the creators of the industrial prosperity of France.

The clergy reproached the orator with the weakness of his master, observed that the public finances were flourishing—an improvement which they had not the honesty to ascribe to its true authors, the Huguenots—and, therefore, the king could have no need of extraordinary aid from the clergy, and concluded by refusing the subsidy. Louis was irritated, but he wanted money. He promised compliance with the desires of the clergy, and they in turn resolved, "Since his majesty has communicated to the Assembly many very weighty reasons for asking extraordinary aid, and among them sundry *which indicate great designs for the advantage of religion*, for which he has *pledged his royal word*, we consent to give him two million four hundred thousand livres, which his majesty will understand as an effect of our entire confidence in his royal word."

The Assembly then formulated its demands, which were thirty in number, including the removal of all Huguenot temples built near churches, the incorporation of the separate parliamentary chambers into the general body of the tribunals, for which this curious reason is given: "Since the motives for the establishment of these chambers exist no longer, there having been, for forty years, complete peace and unison of feeling in the people." What an admission of the inoffensive character and

* Had Goethe read this magniloquent oration when he wrote:

"*Ihr Anblick giebt den Engeln Stärke*"

(Its sight doth give the angels strength?)

conduct of the persecuted Huguenots! The clergy demanded, further, that the Huguenots be deprived of the right of taxing themselves for religious purposes; that they be required to contribute to the support of Catholic churches and schools; that their temples and cemeteries pay the land-tax; that in their schools children shall be taught only reading, writing, and arithmetic; that foreign ministers be expelled from France; that Protestant creditors shall not sue their debtors who turn Catholic for three years; that Catholic curates, accompanied by a bailiff, may demand and obtain by force admission to sick Huguenots. In 1675, the Assembly demanded that Huguenots be forbidden to possess cemeteries in hamlets, villages, or towns; that mixed marriages be declared void, and the children of such incapable of inheriting; that in cities and villages where there may be a town physician, no Huguenot physician be allowed to practice. In 1680, the clergy expressed satisfaction that almost all they could ask had been granted. In this year the dragonnades were introduced as a means of conversion. The dragonnades consisted in quartering soldiers upon Protestant families, and encouraging these rude guests in every form of brutality toward their heretic fellow-citizens. It appears from a letter of Louvois that in 1685 a company and a half of dragoons were quartered on a single family, who were inevitably ruined in a week. If the family did not renounce their religion, the men were beaten, the women abused, and then dragged to the church by the hair; if they still held out, the dragoons scorched their feet and hands by a slow fire. Sometimes they would take turns for several days in preventing a Huguenot from sleeping by pinching, pricking, and dragging him about, until he would sell his religion for a little rest; and all this the Government and fashionable society approved! "The dragoons make very good missionaries," wrote Madame de Sévigné. Madame de Maintenon wrote to her brother that in Poitou lands were to be had almost gratis on account of the ruin of the heretics, and advised him not to let slip so fine an opportunity of acquiring an estate cheaply.

In the Assembly of the clergy in 1685, the president said: "Let us strive, messieurs, to compel the heretics to render to God the worship which is his due, and we shall then enjoy our

good things in peace. The king has done much for the Church, but you will be surprised, messieurs, after what we have obtained from his justice, that we still have any thing more to ask."

Among the things which it still remained to ask were: That it be permitted to the ecclesiastics, in places where there is no public worship, to baptize the children of heretics in spite of the opposition of the parents; that those of the Religion be forbidden to perform any of the functions of an advocate, or of a printer or book-seller, all which the king at once granted.

The Edict of Nantes was now virtually rescinded; none of its guaranties subsisted; the Huguenot churches were everywhere demolished; all the liberal professions were interdicted to the heretics; their schools and academies were closed, their judicial representation abolished; their ministers had been driven into exile. The Edict of Nantes was but a dead letter, but it had not been formally revoked. It still served as a rallying-point for the Protestants, and as a reproach to their persecutors. It must be canceled, obliterated, annihilated. This the clergy demanded at the Assembly of 1685; and at the next general assembly after the fulfillment of their behest by the king, they voted him an extraordinary aid of twelve millions of livres, a truly enormous sum, considering the value of money two centuries ago.

The king, no doubt, was acted on more or less by influences outside of the clerical Assembly; but the successive revocation of the privileges conferred by the Edict, and the final abolition of even the form of it, were substantially the work of the clergy, performed at their suggestion, and paid for with money which they had wrung from the people.

A courtier was one day comparing Peter the Great to Louis XIV. "He was greater than I," said Peter; "but in one thing I have surpassed him: I have reduced my clergy to submission; he was controlled by his."

The revocation interdicted the public exercise of the Reformed religion, but permitted those who professed it to remain in the kingdom, "without being disturbed on pretext of religion." The Marshal de Noailles complained that this clause would prevent conversion to the true faith. Upon this the minister, Lou-

vois, issued a new proclamation revoking even this last vestige of religious liberty, and the clergy at once recommenced their persecutions. Three hundred thousand, or, according to some authorities, eight hundred thousand, men, women, and children, fled from France: those who could not escape were reduced to choose between the mass and the dungeon; children were torn from their mothers' arms; the ministers were hanged or sent to the galleys; women were trampled underfoot by the horses of the dragoons; the bodies of those who had fortunately escaped torture by death were dragged about on hurdles; the whole kingdom was bathed in blood, and covered with ruins.

These horrors Bossuet approved, and celebrated the revocation of the Edict with turgid eloquence and the most groveling adulation of the tyrant who had perpetrated them. "Let us not omit to celebrate this miracle of our time," cried he; "let us hand down the recital of it to future ages. Take your consecrated pens, ye who indite the annals of the Church; make haste to place Louis by the side of the Constantines and the Theodosii." When Legendre and Basville, two ferocious enemies of the Protestants, laid before Bossuet their plan of extermination and asked his counsels, the trio differed as to certain measures of detail, but in the main were agreed. "He was happy," he said, "to avail himself of their experience."

Fénélon, too, whom even Protestants venerate as a saint, wrote in 1685, "I find scarcely any Huguenots left at La Rochelle, since I have paid those who betray them. I imprison the men, and, with the consent and by the authority of the bishop, send the women and girls into convents." He asks that the military force be strengthened. "It appears to me," adds he, "that the exercise of the royal authority ought to be relaxed in nothing." At a later period, indeed, when he himself was a victim of religious intolerance, and had suffered under the persecution of Quietism, he grew more moderate toward the Huguenots, though stimulating always measures of rigor against Jansenism. Fléchier sanctioned the atrocities of the revocation. Massillon approved them, as did also Fontenelle and La Fontaine; and even Arnaud said, "These measures are rather violent, but not at all unjust." Madame de Sévigné was enthusiastic in her admiration of this great act of the Grand Mo-

narque. "There can be nothing finer," exclaimed she, "than the tenor of the act of revocation. No king ever did, or ever will do, any thing so memorable."

If we admit that the language and conduct of these distinguished persons, who had their points of greatness and even of goodness, are in some degree palliated by the spirit of the age, what are we to say of Monseigneur Nardi, so often the mouthpiece of Pope Pius IX., who refers to the reign of Louis XIV. as the Golden Age of France, and contrasts its glories and its prosperity with the moral and material decay of that nation in 1875! True, France has sinned and suffered; but her transgressions and her calamities are the natural consequences of her submission to the dictation of a church of which Monseigneur Nardi himself is one of the chief apostles.

The consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the desolation of flourishing provinces, the destruction of a vast amount of valuable property, the prostration of productive manufactures, the exile or murder of hundreds of thousands of peaceable and industrious inhabitants, the rekindling of the spirit of hate and ferocity with which the priests had inflamed the people in the memorable slaughter of St. Bartholomew's, and which still celebrates its centennial saturnalia of violence and blood in France, were most disastrous to the material prosperity and the moral interests of the nation. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was but a revival of the crimes of 1572; and the horrors of the Revolution a hundred years later, and of the Commune after yet another century, were the legitimate fruits of the tiger-like instincts which the *odium theologicum* of Rome had made a part of the nature of the French people.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had its retribution. In many cases what France cast out, gainful arts and skilled artisans, were not only lost to her, but transferred to other countries, where they laid the foundation of industrial establishments the effect of whose rivalry of her own workshops is felt by her to this day.

Another singular effect of these persecutions has been noticed by Michaud and other recent writers. Among the exiled French were very considerable numbers of literary men, printers, and book-sellers, who immediately entered on a new sphere

of professional activity in the countries which hospitably received them. They devoted themselves much to criticism, and to all forms of periodical literature. The political and economical journals which sprung up in Protestant Europe were, in numerous cases, established by French refugees, and these exiles became the founders and creators of a moral force known as the "collective public opinion of Europe." This opinion France has more than once defied, and again and again paid the penalty of her arrogance; but it is still mightier than all her savants, all her soldiers.

Italy has witnessed a similar crime, a similar retribution. Her patriots and scholars, whom Naples, the Austrian misgovernment of her Italian provinces, and papal Rome thrust out, proved in all parts of Europe the most potent enemies of their persecutors, the most eloquent advocates of their oppressed country. Their talents, their virtues, their sufferings, won for themselves and their country the admiration and sympathy, and even the political support, of Europe. The curses of the papacy have come back to perch under the roof of the Vatican, and the whole civilized world rejoices at the return of the banished and the downfall of their oppressors.

IX.

THE "MONITA SECRETA" SOCIETATIS JESU.

THE first edition of the "Monita Secreta" was published at Paderborn in 1661, and an authentic copy of the original manuscript, found among the records of the Jesuit college at Ruremonde, when they were taken possession of by the Government upon the suppression of the order, is stated to be preserved in the archives of the Palais de Justice at Brussels. The question of the genuineness of the "Monita Secreta" has been much discussed, and a good deal of evidence has been adduced to establish it. The work has been accepted as authentic by many able writers; but there is a strong improbability that so subtle an association as the Jesuits would intrust to paper a set of

rules, the exposure of which would seriously prejudice the position of the order. It is now generally believed to be spurious in form at least, though hardly to be considered a caricature of the principles which govern the action of the society. The latest edition we have seen is that published by C. Sauvestre at the press of Dentu, Paris, 1864. This edition contains the Latin text, with a French translation, full notes, and other illustrative matter, and, like its predecessors, has now become rare.

It consists of seventeen chapters, treating of the following points: Of the mode of proceeding when the society commences a new establishment; how the fathers of the society may acquire and retain intimacy with princes and other distinguished persons; how the society is to act toward persons of authority in the State, and who, even if not rich, may render other valuable services; what ought to be recommended to the preachers and confessors of great personages; how to act toward ecclesiastics who perform in the church the same offices as ourselves; of the means of gaining over rich widows; how to take care of widows and dispose of their estates; how to induce the children of widows to embrace the profession of a religious life; of increasing the revenues of our colleges; of the rigor of discipline in the society; how we are to behave toward those who may have been dismissed from the order; whom we ought to retain in the society; of the choice of young men to be admitted to the society, and of the means of retaining them; of reserved cases and of dismissals from the society; how to behave toward nuns and devotees; of affecting to despise riches; of the means of securing the advancement of the society.

X.

SUPPRESSION OF BOOKS BY THE PRIESTS.

As soon as the support of the civil power had given the clergy confidence in its own strength, confessors began to require their penitents to surrender to them all heretical writings in their possession. These were generally mutilated or destroyed

by the priests; and hence, as we have shown in the text, the disappearance of many works known to have been widely circulated at various periods, but disapproved by the Church. The burning of such books was not only commended, but enjoined, by a brief of Innocent IV., in 1243. The brief recites that the chancellor and doctors of the University of Paris had, with praiseworthy zeal, publicly burned, in the presence of the assembled clergy and people, the Talmud and other condemned volumes, and charges the King of France, to whom the brief was addressed, to cause all books disapproved by the doctors of the university to be seized wherever they could be found within his realm, and consumed by fire.

But the zeal of the faithful did not always wait a formal condemnation by the clergy. Even before the brief of Innocent IV., the crusaders had destroyed all the Arabic books which fell into their possession, and the conquest of a Moorish town in Spain by the Christians was generally followed by a hecatomb of the Hebrew and Arabic books found in public libraries or in the hands of private possessors. The ignorant and fanatical soldiery supposed all Hebrew manuscripts to be Talmuds, all Arabic books to be Korans; but even at comparatively later and better-instructed periods, large collections of Oriental books were condemned to the flames by the Spanish clergy, with little or no examination, upon the presumption that they were hostile to Christianity, because found in unchristian hands.

In recent centuries, the Church is more circumspect. It does not often hold a public *auto-da-fé* over heretical books; but Catholic confessors are instructed to require their penitents to deliver to them all condemned or suspected books, and these are privately made away with. A special condemnation by insertion in the "Index," by *title*, is not necessary, for the "Index" proscribes all works on moral or religious topics by heretical authors. The secret of the confessional, in general, covers these transactions, and it is not often that the intentional destruction of such books can be brought home to the incendiaries.

The following extract from the London *Publishers' Circular* of December 18th, 1875, however, cites a case in point, which is a good illustration of the Christian charity of the devotees of Rome:

"A new *auto-da-fé* has just been chronicled in the *Times*, which is of great interest to all authors and publishers, and which, in connection with the celebrated Guibord case, should give us pause. Mr. Guibord was not allowed to be buried in his own freehold grave, and when so permitted had that grave desecrated or cursed because he belonged to a club the library of which held some Protestant books condemned by the papal "Index." It was not alleged that Guibord had purchased or even read the books. It is enough that he was librarian. What, then, if, as a publisher, he sold such books? But even worse than this is the following. M. de Gasparin was a well-known writer on the side of Christianity. He assailed the fortress of Skepticism, and pleaded in gentle and persuasive tones for faith, goodness, and religion. In short, his writings, tender rather than strong, are much like those that we find in the best works of our own Christian societies. They are esteemed and welcomed by all who wish well to the Christian religion. Madame Gasparin, the well-known Protestant writer, and widow of the author named, having presented a copy of her late husband's work, 'Les Écoles du Doute et les Écoles de la Foi,' to the popular library of Boussenois, in the Côte d'Or, has received, says the *Times*, the following extraordinary letter from its director, M. de Geroal: 'We can not thank you too much on this occasion. M. de Gasparin's works and those of the Franklin Press are most useful to us. This very morning we made the finest fire ever seen with all these works. How pleasant, now the mornings are chilly, to warm one's fingers with M. de Gasparin's books! They burn splendidly. Once more thanks, madame. Geneva paper, especially M. de Gasparin's, has done us a great service, and we hope to warm ourselves again with his books. Meanwhile, pray accept our warmest compliments.'

"The satire in this is not very strong, but there is no doubt of the intention. As Mr. Artemus Ward has it, there is every evidence that M. de Geroal 'spoke sarcastuck' when he asks a lady, with fingers hot from the fire made of her husband's books, to 'accept his warmest congratulations.' So the old *auto-da-fé* is coming up again. History repeats itself. 'As well kill a man as kill a good book,' says Milton; but, then, M. de Geroal is not Milton. The publisher of Peter Bayle, it is said, declared

that the Sorbonne had burned some of his books so as to give them a rapid sale. Perhaps M. de Geroal will thus have the mortification to find that he has advertised 'The Schools of Doubt and the Schools of Faith.' An English edition would sell well. If, according to Milton, a good book is 'the precious life-blood of a master spirit,' he who sheds that blood is indeed guilty. But it is one thing to burn a book, and another to answer and confute it. In this case the curiosity of the matter lies in the fact that the book was not controversial, was against doubters of Christianity, and was entirely on the side of religion, law, and order. But it was written by a Protestant, and that, we presume, was quite a sufficient reason for the strange use to which M. de Geroal put it. Paper, however, makes a bad fire—we prefer coal. They must be miserably off for fuel at Boussenois, to chronicle in such gleeful terms 'the finest fire they had ever seen.'"

XI.

LETTER FROM THE SAVIOUR TO A GIRL OF ST. MARCEL IN FRANCE.

We here give the original of this letter at length, without translation, referring to Part III., p. 146, for an explanation of its purport.

Lettera vera di Gesù Cristo, mandata per mano dell' Angelo Custode ad una Fanciulla chiamata Brigida, 9 miglia distante da S. Marcello di Francia, stampata a lettere d' oro e trovata a' piedi di un Crocifisso, ov' era una Fanciulla che da 7 anni non aveva parlato, e subito che sentì la presente Lettera parlò e disse tre volte Gesù e Maria e sempre seguitò a parlare; ed è morta santamente in età di dodici anni.

La Domenica che è Festa di precetto andate alla Santa Chiesa, e pregate Iddio che vi perdoni i vostri peccati. Io vi ho lasciati sei giorni per lavorare, ed il settimo per riposare. Dovete in quel giorno udire la santa Messa ed ascoltare i Divini Uffizj e prediche, e fare elimosine ai poveri secondo la vostra possibilità, che sarete da me riempiti di beni. Se poi digiunerete i cinque Venerdì dell' anno in onore delle mie cinque Piaghe che ebbi sopra la Croce, vi farò molte grazie di quelle che mi domanderete.

Tutti quelli che mormoreranno contra la mia Santa Lettera, che diranno non essere uscita dalla mia santa bocca, come pure quelli che la terrano celata e non la pubblicheranno saranno da me abbandonati; e tutti quelli che la paleseranno e diranno che è uscita dalla mia santa bocca, li perdonerò tutti i loro peccati e saranno da me eternamente beati. Quelli poi che la paleseranno non avranno sopra di loro spiriti maligni, saranno liberi da fulmini, tempeste e flagelli e se qualche donna non potrà partorire, ponendosi indosso questa mia Santa Lettera e reciterà tre Ave Maria alla SS. Vergine, partorirà felicemente. Tutti quelli che ubbidiranno i miei santi Comandamenti goderanno nell' Eternità la Santa Gloria del Paradiso.

Ebbi trenta pugni in Bocca, e quando fui vicino alla casa d' Anna caddi tre volte, ebbi quattrocento cinque colpi sul Capo, ed i Soldati che mi accompagnarono furono tremila duegento quaranta; e quelli che mi portarono legato furono otto.

Le goccie di sangue che versai, furono tre milioni ed ottocento, e quella persona che mi dirà ogni giorno due Pater, Ave e Gloria per tre anni continui per adempire le goccie di sangue che ho sparso sul monte Calvario concederò cinque grazie.

La prima, Indulgenza Plenaria e remissione di tutti i suoi peccati.

La seconda, non le farò provare le pene del Purgatorio.

La terza, le concederò d' essere come martire che ha sparso il suo sangue per la S. Fede.

La quarta, calerò dal Cielo in Terra a prendere l' anima sua ove insieme con l' anima de' suoi parenti sino al quarto grado ed anche se fossero in Purgatorio, li porterò a godere la Santa Gloria del Paradiso nell' Eternità.

La quinta, le persone che porteranno questa Santa Lettera indosso otto giorni prima di morire anderà la B. V. Maria ad assistere l' anima sua e non morirà di morte subitanea. La sua casa sarà libera d' ogni male.—*In Roma, con permissione di S. Santità il Sommo Pontefice Pio IX.*

XII.

THE ROMISH CHURCH UNDER THE REIGN OF PIUS IX.

THE great *theological* measures which will make the reign of Pius IX. perhaps the most memorable in the history of the Romish Church are:

I. The definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

II. The Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864.

III. The definition of the dogma of the personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff.

Specially characteristic of the *moral and intellectual tendencies* of the administration of the Church under its present head are:

IV. The elevation of St. Alfonso de' Liguori to the rank of Doctor of the Church.

V. The dedication of the Universal Church to the cultus of the Sacred Heart.

VI. The *Bolla di Composizione,* for the case of conscience of thieves, robbers, and other criminals.

I. The definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, promulgated on the 10th of December, 1854, was not the work of a general council of the Church, but a personal act of Pius IX., though no doubt a large number of bishops at Rome and in their several dioceses concurred in it.

A friend residing at Rome has obtained for our use a copy of the bull *Ineffabilis Deus,* by which it was proclaimed, and we print it here entire:

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPÆ IX LITTERÆ APOSTOLICÆ DE DOGMATICA DEFINITIONE IMMACULATÆ CONCEPTIONIS VIRGINIS DEIPARÆ.

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Ineffabilis Deus, cujus viæ misericordia et veritas, cujus voluntas omnipotentia, et cujus sapientia attingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponit omnia suaviter, cum ab omni æternitate præviderit luctuosissimam totius humani generis ruinam ex Adami transgressione derivandam, atque in mysterio a sæculis abscondito primum suæ bonitatis opus decreverit per Verbi incarnationem sacramento occultiore complere, ut contra misericors suum propositum homo diabolicæ iniquitatis versutia actus in culpam non periret, et quod in primo Adamo casurum erat, in secundo felicius erigeretur, ab initio et ante sæcula Unigenito Filio suo matrem, ex qua caro factus in beata temporum

plenitudine nasceretur, elegit atque ordinavit, tantoque præ creaturis universis est prosequutus amore, ut in illa una sibi propensissima voluntate complacuerit. Quapropter illam longe ante omnes Angelicos Spiritus, cunctosque Sanctos cælestium omnium charismatum copia de thesauro divinitatis deprompta ita mirifice cumulavit, ut Ipsa ab omni prorsus peccati labe semper libera, ac tota pulcra et perfecta eam innocentiæ, et sanctitatis plenitudinem præ se ferret, qua major sub Deo nullatenus intelligitur, et quam præter Deum nemo assequi cogitando potest. Et quidem decebat omnino, ut perfectissimæ sanctitatis splendoribus semper ornata fulgeret, ac vel ab ipsa originalis culpæ labe plane immunis amplissimum de antiquo serpente triumphum referret tam venerabilis mater, cui Deus Pater unicum Filium suum, quem de corde suo æqualem sibi genitum tamquam seipsum diligit, ita dare disposuit, ut naturaliter esset unus idemque communis Dei Patris, et Virginis Filius, et quam ipse Filius substantialiter facere sibi matrem elegit, et de qua Spiritus Sanctus voluit, et operatus est, ut conciperetur et nasceretur ille, de quo ipse procedit.

Quam originalem augustæ Virginis innocentiam cum admirabili ejusdem sanctitate, præcelsaque Dei Matris dignitate omnino cohærentem catholica Ecclesia, quæ a Sancto semper edocta Spiritu columna est ac firmamentum veritatis, tamquam doctrinam possidens divinitus acceptam, et cælestis revelationis deposito comprehensam multiplici continenter ratione, splendidisque factis magis in dies explicare, proponere, ac fovere nunquam destitit. Hanc enim doctrinam ab antiquissimis temporibus vigentem, ac fidelium animis penitus insitam, et Sacrorum Antistitum curis studiisque per catholicum orbem mirifice propagatam ipsa Ecclesia luculentissime significavit, cum ejusdem Virginis Conceptionem publico fidelium cultui ac venerationi proponere non dubitavit. Quo illustri quidem facto ipsius Virginis Conceptionem veluti singularem, miram, et a reliquorum hominum primordiis longissime secretam, et omnino sanctam colendam exhibuit, cum Ecclesia nonnisi de Sanctis dies festos concelebret. Atque iccirco vel ipsissima verba, quibus divinæ Scripturæ de increata Sapientia loquuntur, ejusque sempiternas origines repræsentant, consuevit tum in ecclesiasticis officiis, tum in sacrosancta Liturgia adhibere, et ad illius Virginis primordia transferre, quæ uno eodemque decreto cum Divinæ Sapientiæ incarnatione fuerant præstituta.

Quamvis autem hæc omnia penes fideles ubique prope recepta ostendant, quo studio ejusmodi de Immaculata Virginis Conceptione doctrinam ipsa quoque Romana Ecclesia omnium

Ecclesiarum mater et magistra fuerit prosequuta, tamen illustria hujus Ecclesiæ facta digna plane sunt, quæ nominatim recenseantur, cum tanta sit ejusdem Ecclesiæ dignitas, atque auctoritas, quanta illi omnino debetur, quæ est catholicæ veritatis et unitatis centrum, in qua solum inviolabiliter fuit custodita religio, et ex qua traducem fidei reliquæ omnes Ecclesiæ mutuentur oportet. Itaque eadem Romana Ecclesia nihil potius habuit, quam eloquentissimis quibusque modis Immaculatam Virginis Conceptionem, ejusque cultum et doctrinam asserere, tueri, promovere et vindicare. Quod apertissime planissimeque testantur et declarant tot insignia sane acta Romanorum Pontificum Decessorum Nostrorum, quibus in persona Apostolorum Principis ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus fuit commissa suprema cura atque potestas pascendi agnos et oves, confirmandi fratres, et universam regendi et gubernandi Ecclesiam.

Enimvero Prædecessores Nostri vehementer gloriati sunt Apostolica sua auctoritate festum Conceptionis in Romana Ecclesia instituere, ac proprio officio, propriaque missa, quibus prærogativa immunitatis ab hereditaria labe manifestissime asserebatur, augere, honestare, et cultum jam institutum omni ope promovere, amplificare sive erogatis indulgentiis, sive facultate tributa civitatibus, provinciis, regnisque, ut Deiparam sub titulo Immaculatæ Conceptionis patronam sibi deligerent, sive comprobatis Sodalitatibus, Congregationibus, Religiosisque Familiis ad Immaculatæ Conceptionis honorem institutis, sive laudibus eorum pietati delatis, qui monasteria, xenodochia, altaria, templa sub Immaculati Conceptus titulo erexerint, aut sacramenti religione interposita Immaculatam Deiparæ Conceptionem strenue propugnare spoponderint. Insuper summopere lætati sunt decernere Conceptionis festum ab omni Ecclesia esse habendum eodum censu ac numero, quo festum Nativitatis, idemque Conceptionis festum cum octava ab universa Ecclesia celebrandum, et ab omnibus inter ea, quæ præcepta sunt, sancte colendum, ac Pontificiam Cappellam in Patriarchali Nostra Liberiana Basilica die Virginis Conceptionis sacro quotannis esse peragendam. Atque exoptantes in fidelium animis quotidie magis fovere hanc de Immaculata Deiparæ Conceptione doctrinam, eorumque pietatem excitare ad ipsam Virginem sine labe originali conceptam colendam, et venerandam, gavisi sunt quam libentissime facultatem tribuere, ut in Lauretanis Litaniis, et in ipsa Missæ præfatione Immaculatus ejusdem Virginis proclamaretur Conceptus, atque adeo lex credendi ipsa supplicandi lege statueretur. Nos porro tantorum Prædecessorum vestigiis inhærentes non solum quæ ab ipsis pientissime sapientissimeque

fuerant constituta probavimus et recepimus, verum etiam memores institutionis Sixti IV proprium de Immaculata Conceptione officium auctoritate Nostra munivimus, illiusque usum universæ Ecclesiæ lætissimo prorsus animo concessimus.

Quoniam vero quæ ad cultum pertinent, intimo plane vinculo cum ejusdem objecto conserta sunt, neque rata et fixa manere possunt, si illud anceps sit, et in ambiguo versetur, iccirco Decessores Nostri Romani Pontifices omni cura Conceptionis cultum amplificantes, illius etiam objectum ac doctrinam declarare, et inculca reimpensissime studuerunt. Etenim clare aperteque docuere, festum agi de Virginis Conceptione, atque uti falsam, et ab Ecclesiæ mente alienissimam proscripserunt illorum opinionem, qui non Conceptionem ipsam, sed sanctificationem ab Ecclesia coli arbitrarentur et affirmarent. Neque mitius cum iis agendum esse existimarunt, qui ad labefactandam de Immaculata Virginis Conceptione doctrinam excogitato inter primum atque alterum Conceptionis instans et momentum discrimine, asserebant, celebrari quidem Conceptionem, sed non pro primo instanti atque momento. Ipsi namque Prædecessores Nostri suarum partium esse duxerunt, et beatissimæ Virginis Conceptionis festum, et Conceptionem pro primo instanti tamquam verum cultus objectum omni studio tueri ac propugnare. Hinc decretoria plane verba, quibus Alexander VII Decessor Noster sinceram Ecclesiæ mentem declaravit inquiens, "Sane vetus est Christifidelium erga ejus beatissimam Matrem Virginem Mariam pietas sentientium, ejus animam in primo instanti creationis, atque infusionis in corpus fuisse speciali Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Jesu Christi ejus Filii, humani generis Redemptoris, a macula peccati originalis præservatam immunem, atque in hoc sensu ejus Conceptionis festivitatem solemni ritu colentium, et celebrantium."*

Atque illud in primis solemne quoque fuit iisdem Decessoribus Nostris doctrinam de Immaculata Dei Matris Conceptione sartam tectamque omni cura, studio et contentione tueri. Etenim non solum nullatenus passi sunt, ipsam doctrinam quovis modo a quopiam notari, atque traduci, verum etiam longe ulterius progressi perspicuis declarationibus, iteratisque vicibus edixerunt, doctrinam, qua Immaculatam Virginis Conceptionem profitemur, esse, suoque merito haberi cum ecclesiastico cultu plane consonam, eamque veterem, ac prope universalem et ejusmodi, quam Romana Ecclesia sibi fovendam, tuendamque

* Alexander VII Const. *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, VIII Decembris 1661.

susceperit, atque omnino dignam, quæ in sacra ipsa Liturgia, solemnibusque precibus usurparetur. Neque his contenti, ut ipsa de Immaculato Virginis Conceptu doctrina inviolata persisteret, opinionem huic doctrinæ adversam sive publice, sive privatim defendi posse severissime prohibuere, eamque multiplici veluti vulnere confectam esse voluerunt. Quibus repetitis luculentissimisque declarationibus, ne inanes viderentur, adjecere sanctionem: quæ omnia laudatus Prædecessor Noster Alexander VII his verbis est complexus:

"Nos considerantes, quod Sancta Romana Ecclesia de intemeratæ semper Virginis Mariæ Conceptione festum solemniter celebrat, et speciale ac proprium super hoc officium olim ordinavit juxta piam, devotam et laudabilem institutionem, quæ a Sixto IV Prædecessore Nostro tunc emanavit; volentesque laudabili huic pietati et devotioni, et festo, ac cultui secundum illam exhibito, in Ecclesia Romana, post ipsius cultus institutionem nunquam immutato, Romanorum Pontificum Prædecessorum Nostrorum exemplo favere, nec non tueri pietatem, et devotionem hanc colendi, et celebrandi beatissimam Virginem, præveniente scilicet Spiritus Sancti gratia, a peccato originali præservatam, cupientesque in Christi grege unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, sedatis offensionibus, et jurgiis, amotisque scandalis conservare: ad præfatorum Episcoporum cum Ecclesiarum suarum Capitulis, ac Philippi Regis, ejusque Regnorum oblatam Nobis instantiam, ac preces, Constitutiones, et Decreta, a Romanis Pontificibus Prædecessoribus Nostris, et præcipue a Sixto IV, Paullo V et Gregorio XV edita in favorem sententiæ asserentis, Animam beatæ Mariæ Virginis in sui creatione, et in corpus infusione, Spiritus Sancti gratia donatam, et a peccato originali præservatam fuisse, nec non et in favorem festi, et cultus Conceptionis ejusdem Virginis Deiparæ, secundum piam istam sententiam, ut præfertur, exhibiti, innovamus, et sub censuris, et pœnis in eisdem Constitutionibus contentis observari mandamus.

"Et insuper omnes et singulos, qui præfatas Constitutiones, seu Decreta ita pergent interpretari, ut favorem per illas dictæ sententiæ, et festo seu cultui secundum illam exhibito, frustrentur, vel qui hanc eamdem sententiam, festum seu cultum in disputationem revocare, aut contra ea quoquo modo directe, vel indirecte, aut quovis prætextu, etiam definibilitatis ejus examinandæ, sive Sacram Scripturam, aut Sanctos Patres, sive Doctores glossandi vel interpretandi, denique alio quovis prætextu seu occasione, scripto seu voce loqui, concionari, tractare, disputare, contra ea quidquam determinando, aut asserendo,

vel argumenta contra ea afferendo, et insoluta relinquendo, aut alio quovis inexcogitabili modo disserendo ausi fuerint, præter pœnas et censuras in Constitutionibus Sixti IV contentas, quibus illos subjacere volumus, et per præsentes subjicimus, etiam concionandi, publice legendi, seu docendi, et interpretandi facultate, ac voce activa, et passiva in quibuscumque electionibus, eo ipso absque alia declaratione privatos esse volumus; nec non ad concionandum, publice legendum, docendum, et interpretandum perpetuæ inhabilitatis pœnas ipso facto incurrere absque alia declaratione; a quibus pœnis nonnisi a Nobis ipsis, vel a Successoribus Nostris Romanis Pontificibus absolvi, aut super iis dispensari possint: nec non eosdem aliis pœnis Nostro, et eorumdem Romanorum Pontificum Successorum Nostrorum arbitrio infligendis pariter subjacere volumus, prout subjicimus per præsentes, innovantes Paulli V et Gregorii XV superius memoratas Constitutiones sive Decreta.

"Ac libros, in quibus præfata sententia, festum, seu cultus secundum illam in dubium revocatur, aut contra ea quomodocumque, ut supra, aliquid scribitur, aut legitur, seu locutiones, conciones, tractatus, et disputationes contra eadem continentur, post Paulli V supra laudatum Decretum edita, aut in posterum quomodolibet edenda, prohibemus sub pœnis et censuris in Indice librorum prohibitorum contentis, et ipso facto absque alia declaratione pro expresse prohibitis haberi volumus et mandamus."

Omnes autem norunt quanto studio hæc de Immaculata Deiparæ Virginis Conceptione doctrina a spectatissimis Religiosis Familiis, et celebrioribus Theologicis Academiis ac præstantissimis rerum divinarum scientia Doctoribus fuerit tradita, asserta ac propugnata. Omnes pariter norunt quantopere solliciti fuerint Sacrorum Antistites vel in ipsis ecclesiasticis conventibus palam publiceque profiteri, sanctissimam Dei Genitricem Virginem Mariam ob prævisa Christi Domini Redemptoris merita nunquam originali subjacuisse peccato, sed præservatam omnino fuisse ab originis labe, et iccirco sublimiori modo redemptam. Quibus illud profecto gravissimum, et omnino maximum accedit, ipsam quoque Tridentinam Synodum, cum dogmaticum de peccato originali ederet decretum, quo juxta sacrarum Scripturarum, sanctorumque Patrum, ac probatissimorum Conciliorum testimonia statuit, ac definivit, omnes homines nasci originali culpa infectos, tamen solemniter declarasse, non esse suæ intentionis in decreto ipso, tantaque definitionis amplitudine comprehendere beatam et Immaculatam Virginem Dei Genitricem Mariam. Hac enim declaratione Tridentini

Patres, ipsam beatissimam Virginem ab originali labe solutam pro rerum temporumque adjunctis satis innuerunt, atque adeo perspicue significarunt, nihil ex divinis litteris, nihil ex traditione, Patrumque auctoritate rite afferri posse, quod tantæ Virginis prærogativæ quovis modo refragetur.

Et re quidem vera hanc de Immaculata beatissimæ Virginis Conceptione doctrinam quotidie magis gravissimo Ecclesiæ sensu, magisterio, studio, scientia ac sapientia tam splendide explicatam, declaratam, confirmatam, et apud omnes catholici orbis populos ac nationes mirandum in modum propagatam, in ipsa Ecclesia semper extitisse veluti a majoribus acceptam, ac relevatæ doctrinæ charactere insignitam illustria venerandæ antiquitatis Ecclesiæ orientalis et occidentalis monumenta validissime testantur. Christi enim Ecclesia sedula depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, et vindex nihil in his unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit, sed omni industria vetera fideliter sapienterque tractando si qua antiquitus informata sunt, et Patrum fides sevit, ita limare, expolire studet, ut prisca illa cælestis doctrinæ dogmata accipiant evidentiam, lucem, distinctionem, sed retineant plenitudinem, integritatem, proprietatem, ac in suo tantum genere crescant, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia.

Equidem Patres, Ecclesiæque Scriptores cælestibus edocti eloquiis nihil antiquius habuere, quam in libris ad explicandas Scripturas, vindicanda dogmata, erudiendosque fideles elucubratis summam Virginis sanctitatem, dignitatem, atque ab omni peccati labe integritatem, ejusque præclaram de teterrimo humani generis hoste victoriam multis mirisque modis certatim prædicare atque efferre. Quapropter enarrantes verba, quibus Deus præparata renovandis mortalibus suæ pietatis remedia inter ipsa mundi primordia prænuntians et deceptoris serpentis retulit audaciam, et nostri generis spem mirifice erexit inquiens, "Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, semen tuum et semen illius" docuere, divino hoc oraculo clare aperteque præmonstratum fuisse misericordem humani generis Redemptorem, scilicet Unigenitum Dei Filium Christum Jesum, ac designatam beatissimam Ejus matrem Virginem Mariam, ac simul ipsissimas utriusque contra diabolum inimicitias insigniter expressas. Quocirca sicut Christus Dei hominumque mediator humana assumpta natura delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, illud cruci triumphator affixit, sic sanctissima Virgo arctissimo, et indissolubili vinculo cum Eo conjuncta una cum Illo, et per Illum sempiternas contra venenosum serpentem inimicitias exercens, ac de ipso plenissime triumphans illius caput immaculato pede contrivit.

Hunc eximium, singularemque Virginis triumphum, excellentissimamque innocentiam, puritatem, sanctitatem, ejusque ab omni peccati labe integritatem, atque ineffabilem cælestium omnium gratiarum, virtutum, ac privilegiorum copiam, et magnitudinem iidem Patres viderunt tum in arca illa Noe, quæ divinitus constituta a communi totius mundi naufragio plane salva et incolumis evasit; tum in scala illa, quam de terra ad cælum usque pertingere vidit Jacob, cujus gradibus Angeli Dei ascendebant, et descendebant, cujusque vertici ipse innitebatur Dominus; tum in rubo illo, quem in loco sancto Moyses undique ardere, et inter crepitantes ignis flammas non jam comburi aut jacturam vel minimam pati, sed pulcre virescere ac florescere conspexit; tum in illa inexpugnabili turri a facie inimici, ex qua mille clypei pendent, omnisque armatura fortium; tum in horto illo concluso, qui nescit violari, neque corrumpi ullis insidiarum fraudibus; tum in corusca illa Dei civitate, cujus fundamenta in montibus sanctis; tum in augustissimo illo Dei templo, quod divinis refulgens splendoribus plenum est gloria Domini, tum in aliis ejusdem generis omnino plurimis, quibus excelsam Deiparæ dignitatem, ejusque illibatam innocentiam, et nulli unquam nævo obnoxiam sanctitatem insigniter prænunciatam fuisse Patres tradiderunt.

Ad hanc eamdem divinorum munerum veluti summam, originalemque Virginis, de qua natus est Jesus, integritatem describendam iidem Prophetarum adhibentes eloquia non aliter ipsam augustam Virginem concelebrarunt, ac uti columbam mundam, et sanctam Jerusalem, et excelsum Dei thronum, et arcam sanctificationis, et domum, quam sibi æterna ædificavit Sapientia, et Reginam illam, quæ deliciis affluens, et innixa super Dilectum suum ex ore Altissimi prodivit omnino perfecta, speciosa ac penitus cara Deo, et nullo unquam labis nævo maculata. Cum vero ipsi Patres, Ecclesiæque Scriptores animo menteque reputarent, beatissimam Virginem ab Angelo Gabriele sublimissimam Dei Matris dignitatem ei nuntiante, ipsius Dei nomine et jussu gratia plenam fuisse nuncupatam, docuerunt, hac singulari solemnique salutatione nunquam alias audita ostendi, Deiparam fuisse omnium divinarum gratiarum sedem, omnibusque divini Spiritus charismatibus exornatam, immo eorumdem charismatam infinitum prope thesaurum, abyssumque inexhaustam, adeo ut nunquam maledicto obnoxia, et una cum Filio perpetuæ benedictionis particeps ab Elisabeth divino acta Spiritu audire meruerit: *benedicta Tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.*

Hinc non luculenta minus, quam concors eorumdem senten-

tia, gloriosissimam Virginem, cui fecit magna, qui Potens est, ea cælestium omnium donorum vi, ea gratiæ plenitudine, eaque innocentia emicuisse, qua veluti ineffabile Dei miraculum, immo omnium miraculorum apex, ac digna Dei mater extiterit, et ad Deum ipsum pro ratione creatæ naturæ, quam proxime accedens omnibus, qua humanis, qua angelicis præconiis celsior evaserit. Atque iccirco ad originalem Dei Genitricis innocentiam, justitiamque vindicandam, non Eam modo cum Heva adhuc virgine, adhuc innocente, adhuc incorrupta, et nondum mortiferis fraudulentissimi serpentis insidiis decepta sæpissime contulerunt, verum etiam mira quadam verborum, sententiarumque varietate prætulerunt. Heva enim serpenti misere obsequuta et ab originali excidit innocentia, et illius mancipium evasit, sed beatissima Virgo originale donum jugiter augens, quin serpenti aures unquam præbuerit, illius vim potestatemque virtute divinitus accepta funditus labefactavit.

Quapropter nunquam cessarunt Deiparam appellare vel lilium inter spinas, vel terram omnino intactam, virgineam, illibatam, immaculatam, semper benedictam, et ab omni peccati contagione liberam, ex qua novus formatus est Adam, vel irreprehensibilem, lucidissimum, amœnissimumque innocentiæ, immortalitatis, ac deliciarum paradisum a Deo ipso consitum, et ab omnibus venenosi serpentis insidiis defensum, vel lignum immarcescibile, quod peccati vermis nunquam corruperit, vel fontem semper illimem, et Spiritus Sancti virtute signatum, vel divinissimum templum, vel immortalitatis thesaurum, vel unam et solam non mortis sed vitæ filiam, non iræ sed gratiæ germen, quod semper virens ex corrupta infectaque radice singulari Dei providentia præter statas communesque leges efflоruerit. Sed quasi hæc, licet splendidissima, satis non forent, propriis definitisque sententiis edixerunt, nullam prorsus, cum de peccatis agitur, habendam esse quæstionem de sancta Virgine Maria, cui plus gratiæ collatum fuit ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum; tum professi sunt, gloriosissimam Virginem fuisse parentum reparatricem, posterorum vivificatricem, a sæculo electam, ab Altissimo sibi præparatam, a Deo, quando ad serpentem ait, "Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem," prædictam, quæ procul dubio venenatum ejusdem serpentis caput contrivit; ac propterea affirmarunt, eamdem beatissimam Virginem fuisse per gratiam ab omni peccati labe integram, ac liberam ab omni contagione et corporis, et animæ, et intellectus, ac semper cum Deo conversatam, et sempiterno fœdere cum Illo conjunctam, nunquam fuisse in tenebris, sed semper in luce, et iccirco idoneum plane extitisse Christo habitaculum non pro habitu corporis, sed pro gratia originali.

Accedunt nobilissima effata, quibus de Virginis Conceptione loquentes testati sunt, naturam gratiæ cessisse, ac stetisse tremulam pergere non sustinentem, nam futurum erat, ut Dei Genitrix Virgo non antea ex Anna conciperetur, quam gratia fructum ederet: concipi siquidem primogenitam oportebat, ex qua concipiendus esset omnis creaturæ primogenitus. Testati sunt carnem Virginis ex Adam sumptam maculas Adæ non admisisse, ac propterea beatissimam Virginem tabernaculum esse ab ipso Deo creatum, Spiritu Sancto formatum, et purpureæ revera operæ, quod novus ille Beseleel auro intextum variumque effinxit, eamdemque esse meritoque celebrari ut illam, quæ proprium Dei opus primum extiterit, ignitis maligni telis latuerit, et pulcra natura, ac labis prorsus omnis nescia, tamquam aurora undequaque rutilans in mundum prodiverit in sua conceptione immaculata. Non enim decebat, ut illud vas electionis communibus lacesseretur injuriis, quoniam plurimum a ceteris differens, natura communicavit non culpa, immo prorsus decebat ut sicut Unigenitus in cælis Patrem habuit, quem Seraphim ter sanctum extollunt, ita matrem haberet in terris, quæ nitore sanctitatis nunquam caruerit. Atque hæc quidem doctrina adeo majorum mentes, animosque occupavit, ut singularis et omnino mirus penes illos invaluerit loquendi usus, quo Deiparam sæpissime compellarunt immaculatam, omnique ex parte immaculatam, innocentem et innocentissimam, illibatam et undequaque illibatam, sanctam et ab omni peccati sorde alienissimam, totam puram, totam intemeratam, ac ipsam prope puritatis et innocentiæ formam, pulcritudine pulcriorem, venustate venustiorem, sanctiorem sanctitate, solamque sanctam, purissimamque anima et corpore, quæ supergressa est omnem integritatem, et virginitatem, ac sola tota facta domicilium universarum gratiarum Sanctissimi Spiritus, et quæ, solo Deo excepto, extitit cunctis superior, et ipsis Cherubim, et Seraphim, et omni exercitu Angelorum *natura pulcrior, formosior* et *sanctior,* cui prædicandæ cælestes et terrenæ linguæ minime sufficiunt, quem usum ad sanctissimæ quoque liturgiæ monumenta atque ecclesiastica officia sua veluti sponte fuisse traductum, et in illis passim recurrere, ampliterque dominari nemo ignorat, cum in illis Deipara invocetur et prædicetur veluti una incorrupta pulcritudinis columba, veluti rosa semper vigens, et undequaque purissima, et semper immaculata semperque beata, ac celebretur uti innocentia, quæ nunquam fuit læsa, et altera Heva, quæ Emmanuelem peperit.

Nil igitur mirum si de immaculata Deiparæ Virginis Conceptione doctrinam judicio Patrum divinis litteris consignatam, tot

gravissimis eorumdem testimoniis traditam, tot illustribus venerandæ antiquitatis monumentis expressam et celebratam, ac maximo gravissimoque Ecclesiæ judicio propositam et confirmatam tanta pietate, religione et amore ipsius Ecclesiæ Pastores, populique fideles quotidie magis profiteri sint gloriati, ut nihil iisdem dulcius, nihil carius, quam ferventissimo affectu Deiparam Virginem absque labe originali conceptam ubique colere, venerari, invocare, et prædicare. Quamobrem ab antiquis temporibus Sacrorum Antistites, Ecclesiastici viri, regulares Ordines, ac vel ipsi Imperatores et Reges ab hac Apostolica Sede enixe efflagitarunt, ut Immaculata sanctissimæ Dei Genitricis Conceptio veluti catholicæ fidei dogma definiretur. Quæ postulationes hac nostra quoque ætate iteratæ fuerunt, ac potissimum felicis recordationis Gregorio XVI Prædecessori Nostro, ac Nobis ipsis oblatæ sunt tum ab Episcopis, tum a Clero sæculari, tum a Religiosis Familiis, ac summis Principibus et fidelibus populis.

Nos itaque singulari animi nostri gaudio hæc omnia probe noscentes, ac serio considerantes, vix dum licet immeriti arcano divinæ Providentiæ consilio ad hanc sublimem Petri Cathedram evecti totius Ecclesiæ gubernacula tractanda suscepimus, nihil certe antiquius habuimus, quam pro summa Nostra vel a teneris annis erga sanctissimam Dei Genitricem Virginem Mariam veneratione, pietate et affectu ea omnia peragere, quæ adhuc in Ecclesiæ votis esse poterant, ut beatissimæ Virginis honor augeretur, ejusque prærogativæ uberiori luce niterent. Omnem autem maturitatem adhibere volentes constituimus peculiarem VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalium religione, consilio, ac divinarum rerum scientia illustrium Congregationem, et viros ex Clero tum sæculari, tum regulari, theologicis disciplinis apprime excultos selegimus, ut ea omnia, quæ Immaculatam Virginis Conceptionem respiciunt, accuratissime perpenderent, propriamque sententiam ad Nos deferrent. Quamvis autem Nobis ex receptis postulationibus de definienda tandem aliquando Immaculata Virginis Conceptione perspectus esset plurimorum Sacrorum Antistitum sensus, tamen Encyclicas Litteras die 2 Februarii anno 1849 Cajetæ datas ad omnes Venerabiles Fratres totius catholici orbis sacrorum Antistites misimus, ut, adhibitis ad Deum precibus, Nobis scripto etiam significarent, quæ essent suorum fidelium erga Immaculatam Deiparæ Conceptionem pietas, ac devotio, et quid ipsi præsertim Antistites de hac ipsa definitione ferenda sentirent, quidve exoptarent, ut, quo fieri solemnius posset, supremum Nostrum judicium proferremus.

Non mediocri certe solatio affecti fuimus ubi eorumdem Ven-

erabilium Fratrum ad Nos responsa venerunt. Nam iidem incredibili quadam jucunditate, lætitia, ac studio Nobis rescribentes non solum singularem suam, et proprii cujusque Cleri, Populique fidelis erga Immaculatum beatissimæ Virginis Conceptum pietatem, mentemque denuo confirmarunt verum etiam communi veluti voto a Nobis expostularunt, ut Immaculata ipsius Virginis Conceptio supremo Nostro judicio et auctoritate definiretur. Nec minori certe interim gaudio perfusi sumus, cum VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinales commemoratæ peculiaris Congregationis, et prædicti Theologi Consultores a Nobis electi pari alacritate et studio post examen diligenter adhibitum hanc de Immaculata Deiparæ Conceptione definitionem a Nobis efflagitaverint.

Post hæc illustribus Prædecessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, ac rite recteque procedere optantes indiximus et habuimus Consistorium, in quo Venerabiles Fratres Nostros Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales alloquuti sumus, eosque summa animi Nostri consolatione audivimus a Nobis exposcere, ut dogmaticam de Immaculata Deiparæ Virginis Conceptione definitionem emittere vellemus.

Itaque plurimum in Domino confisi advenisse temporum opportunitatem pro Immaculata sanctissimæ Dei Genitricis Virginis Mariæ Conceptione definienda, quam divina eloquia, veneranda traditio, perpetuus Ecclesiæ sensus, singularis catholicorum Antistitum, ac fidelium conspiratio et insignia Prædecessorum Nostrorum acta, constitutiones mirifice illustrant atque declarant; rebus omnibus diligentissime perpensis, et assiduis, fervidisque ad Deum precibus effusis, minime cunctandum Nobis esse censuimus supremo Nostro judicio Immaculatam ipsius Virginis Conceptionem sancire, definire, atque ita pientissimis catholici orbis desideriis, Nostræque in ipsam sanctissimam Virginem pietati satisfacere, ac simul in Ipsa Unigenitum Filium suum Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum magis atque magis honorificare, cum in Filium redundet quidquid honoris et laudis in Matrem impenditur.

Quare postquam nunquam intermisimus in humilitate et jejunio privatas Nostras et publicas Ecclesiæ preces Deo Patri per Filium Ejus offerre, ut Spiritus Sancti virtute mentem Nostram dirigere, et confirmare dignaretur, implorato universæ cælestis Curiæ præsidio, et advocato cum gemitibus Paraclito Spiritu, eoque sic adspirante, ad honorem Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, ad decus et ornamentum Virginis Deiparæ, ad exaltationem Fidei catholicæ, et Christianæ Religionis augmentum, auctoritate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, beatorum Apostolorum

Petri, et Paulli, ac Nostra declaramus, pronunciamus et definimus, doctrinam, quæ tenet, beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suæ Conceptionis fuisse singulari omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpæ labe præservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam, atque iccirco ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam. Quapropter si qui secus ac a Nobis definitum est, quod Deus avertat, præsumpserint corde sentire, ii noverint, ac porro sciant, se proprio judicio condemnatos, naufragium circa fidem passos esse, et ab unitate Ecclesiæ defecisse, ac præterea facto ipso suo semet pœnis a jure statutis subjicere si quod corde sentiunt, verbo aut scripto, vel alio quovis externo modo significare ausi fuerint.

Repletum quidem est gaudio os Nostrum et lingua Nostra exultatione, atque humillimas maximasque Christo Jesu Domino Nostro agimus et semper agemus gratias, quod singulari suo beneficio Nobis licet immerentibus concesserit hunc honorem atque hanc gloriam et laudem sanctissimæ suæ Matri offerre et decernere. Certissima vero spe et omni prorsus fiducia nitimur fore, ut ipsa beatissima Virgo, quæ tota pulcra et immaculata venenosum crudelissimi serpentis caput contrivit, et salutem attulit mundo, quæque Prophetarum, Apostolorumque præconium, et honor Martyrum, omniumque Sanctorum lætitia et corona, quæque tutissimum cunctorum periclitantium perfugium, et fidissima auxiliatrix, ac totius terrarum orbis potentissima apud Unigenitum Filium suum mediatrix, et conciliatrix, ac præclarissimum Ecclesiæ sanctæ decus et ornamentum, firmissimumque præsidium cunctas semper interemit hæreses, et fideles populos, gentesque a maximis omnis generis calamitatibus eripuit, ac Nos ipsos a tot ingruentibus periculis liberavit; velit validissimo suo patrocinio efficere, ut sancta Mater catholica Ecclesia, cunctis amotis difficultatibus, cunctisque profligatis erroribus, ubicumque gentium, ubicumque locorum quotidie magis vigeat, floreat, ac regnet a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum, omnique pace, tranquillitate, ac libertate fruatur, ut rei veniam, ægri medelam, pusilli corde robur, afflicti consolationem, periclitantes adjutorium obtineant, et omnes errantes discussa mentis caligine ad veritatis ac justitiæ semitam redeant, ac fiat unum ovile, et unus pastor.

Audiant hæc Nostra verba omnes Nobis carissimi catholicæ Ecclesiæ filii, et ardentiori usque pietatis, religionis, et amoris studio pergant colere, invocare, exorare beatissimam Dei Genitricem Virginem Mariam sine labe originali conceptam, atque ad hanc dulcissimam misericordiæ et gratiæ Matrem in omnibus

periculis, angustiis, necessitatibus, rebusque dubiis ac trepidis cum omni fiducia confugiant. Nihil enim timendum, nihilque desperandum Ipsa duce, Ipsa auspice, Ipsa propitia, Ipsa protegente, quæ maternum sane in nos gerens animum, nostræque salutis negotia tractans de universo humano genere est sollicita, et cæli, terræque Regina a Domino constituta ac super omnes Angelorum choros Sanctorumque ordines exaltata adstans a dextris Unigeniti Filii Sui Domini Nostri Jesu Christi maternis suis precibus validissime impetrat, et quod quærit invenit, ac frustrari non potest.

Denique ut ad universalis Ecclesiæ notitiam hæc Nostra de Immaculata Conceptione beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ definitio deducatur, has Apostolicas Nostras Litteras ad perpetuam rei memoriam extare voluimus; mandantes ut harum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ munitis eadem prorsus fides ab omnibus adhibeatur, quæ ipsis præsentibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostræ declarationis, pronunciationis, ac definitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario adversari et contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Paulli Apostolorum ejus se noverint incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Millesimo octingentesimo quinquagesimo quarto VI Idus Decembris Anno MDCCCLIV. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Nono. PIUS PP. IX.

For the real meaning and purport of this dogma we refer to Part III., pp. 124–146, and Part IV., pp. 164, 171.

II. The Encyclical and Syllabus of 1864 are also not the works of a council, but a personal act of Pius IX. and the Jesuit *camarilla* which surrounds him. Like the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is, we are informed, not easily obtained, by itself, at Rome. It consists of a querulous jeremiad over the wrongs of the Church, and a denunciation of what its authors are pleased to style the "principal errors of our time," in eighty specifications. In general terms, it may be described as a calumnious assault upon the principles of liberty and progress. Many of the opinions it condemns are not, and never were, seriously held; many of them will not now be disowned by any enlightened and conscientious man.

For the convenience of theologians and moralists, we publish this document entire, in its original text, but hardly think the general public will care for a translation. We, however, make an exception as to § iv., which thus speaks of "socialism, communism, secret societies, Bible societies, and liberal clerical societies:"

"These pests have often been reprobated in the severest terms in the encyclical epistle *Qui pluribus;* in the allocution *Quibus quantisque,* April 20th, 1849; in the encyclical epistle *Noscitis et Nobiscum,* December 8th, 1849; in the allocution *Singulari quadam,* December 9th, 1854; in the encyclical epistle *Quanto conficiamur mœrore,* August 10th, 1863."

The documents here referred to, and indorsed by Pius IX., would fill a volume, and we can only refer to the "Recueil des Allocutions Consistoriales, Encycliques et autre Lettres Apostoliques * * * citées dans l'Encyclique et le Syllabus du 8 Décembre 1864," 1 vol. 8vo, Paris, 1865, often since reprinted, which contains them all in the original Latin, with a French translation.

ENCYCLICA PII IX PONTIFICIS MAXIMI DATA VI ID. DECEMBR. A. MDCCCLXIV, PONTIFICATUS SUI XIX.

Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Universis Gratiam et Communionem Apostolicæ Sedis iabentibus Pius PP. IX.

Venerabiles Fratres,—Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Quanta cura ac pastorali vigilantia Romani Pontifices Prædecessores Nostri exsequentes demandatum sibi ab ipso Christo Domino in persona Beatissimi Petri Apostolorum Principis officium, munusque pascendi agnos et oves, nunquam intermiserint universum Dominicum gregem sedulo enutrire verbis fidei, ac salutari doctrina imbuere, eumque ab venenatis pascuis arcere, omnibus quidem ac Vobis præsertim compertum exploratumque est, Venerabiles Fratres. Et sane iidem Decessores Nostri augustæ catholicæ religionis, veritatis ac justitiæ assertores et vindices, de animarum salute maxime solliciti, nihil potius unquam habuere, quam sapientissimis suis Litteris et Constitutionibus retegere et damnare omnes hæreses et errores qui Divinæ Fidei nostræ, catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ, morum honestati, ac sempiternæ hominum saluti adversi graves frequenter excitarunt tempestates, et christianam civilemque

rempublicam miserandum in modum funestarunt. Quocirca iidem Decessores Nostri Apostolica fortitudine continenter obstiterunt nefariis iniquorum hominum molitionibus, qui despumantes tamquam fluctus feri maris confusiones suas, ac libertatem promittentes, cum servi sint corruptionis, fallacibus suis opinionibus et perniciosissimis scriptis catholicæ religionis civilisque societatis fundamenta convellere, omnemque virtutem ac justitiam de medio tollere, omniumque animos mentesque depravare, et incautos imperitamque præsertim juventutem a recta morum disciplina avertere, eamque miserabiliter corrumpere, in erroris laqueos inducere, ac tandem ab Ecclesiæ catholicæ sinu avellere conati sunt.

Jam vero, uti Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, apprime notum est, Nos vix dum arcano divinæ Providentiæ consilio, nullis certe Nostris meritis, ad hanc Petri Cathedram evecti fuimus, cum videremus summo animi Nostri dolore horribilem sane procellam tot pravis opinionibus excitatam, et gravissima ac nunquam satis lugenda damna, quæ in christianum populum ex tot erroribus redundant, pro Apostolici Nostri Ministerii officio illustria Prædecessorum Nostrorum vestigia sectantes Nostram extulimus vocem, ac pluribus in vulgus editis Encyclicis Epistolis et Allocutionibus in Consistorio habitis, aliisque Apostolicis Litteris præcipuos tristissimæ nostræ ætatis errores damnavimus, eximiamque vestram episcopalem vigilantiam excitavimus, et universos catholicæ Ecclesiæ Nobis carissimos filios etiam atque etiam monuimus et exhortati sumus, ut tam diræ contagia pestis omnino horrerent et devitarent. Ac præsertim Nostra prima Encyclica Epistola die 9 Novembris anno 1846 Vobis scripta, binisque Allocutionibus, quarum altera die 9 Decembris anno 1854, altera vero 9 Junii anno 1862 in Consistorio a nobis habita fuit, monstrosa opinionum portenta damnavimus, quæ hac potissimum ætate cum maximo animarum damno, et civilis ipsius societatis detrimento dominantur, quæque non solum catholicæ Ecclesiæ, ejusque salutari doctrinæ ac venerandis juribus, verum etiam sempiternæ naturali legi a Deo in omnium cordibus insculptæ rectæquæ rationi maxime adversantur, et ex quibus alii prope omnes originem habent errores.

Etsi autem haud omiserimus potissimos hujusmodi errores sæpe proscribere et reprobare, tamen catholicæ Ecclesiæ causa, animarumque salus Nobis divinitus commissa, atque ipsius humanæ societatis bonum omnino postulant, ut iterum pastoralem vestram sollicitudinem excitemus ad alias pravas profligandas opiniones, quæ ex eisdem erroribus, veluti ex fontibus erumpunt. Quæ falsæ ac perversæ opiniones eo magis dete-

standæ sunt, quod eo potissimum spectant, ut impediatur et amoveatur salutaris illa vis, quam catholica Ecclesia ex divini sui Auctoris institutione et mandato libere exercere debet usque ad consummationem sæculi non minus erga singulos homines, quam erga nationes, populos, summosque eorum Principes, utque de medio tollatur mutua illa inter Sacerdotium et Imperium consiliorum societas et concordia, quæ rei cum sacræ tum civili fausta semper extitit ac salutaris.* Etenim probe noscitis, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc tempore non paucos reperiri, qui civili consortio impium absurdumque *naturalismi*, uti vocant, principium applicantes audent docere, "optimam societatis publicæ rationem, civilemque progressum omnino requirere, ut humana societas constituatur et gubernetur, nullo habito ad religionem respectu, ac si ea non existeret, vel saltem nullo facto veram inter falsasque religiones discrimine." Atque contra sacrarum Litterarum, Ecclesiæ, sanctorumque Patrum doctrinam, asserere non dubitant, "optimam esse conditionem societatis, in qua Imperio non agnoscitur officium coercendi sancitis pœnis violatores catholicæ religionis, nisi quatenus pax publica postulet." Ex qua omnino falsa socialis regiminis idea haud timent erroneam illam fovere opinionem catholicæ Ecclesiæ animarumque saluti maxime exitialem, a rec. mem. Gregorio XVI Prædecessore Nostro *deliramentum* appellatam,† nimirum "libertatem conscientiæ et cultuum esse proprium cujuscumque hominis jus, quod lege proclamari, et asseri debet in omni recte constituta societate, et jus civibus inesse ad omnimodam libertatem nulla vel ecclesiastica vel civili auctoritate coarctandam, quo suos conceptus quoscumque sive voce, sive typis, sive alia ratione palam publiceque manifestare ac declarare valeant." Dum vero id temere affirmant, haud cogitant et considerant, quod *libertatem perditionis*‡ prædicant, et quod "si humanis persuasionibus semper disceptare sit liberum, numquam deesse poterunt, qui veritati audeant resultare, et de humanæ sapientiæ loquacitate confidere, cum hanc nocentissimam vanitatem quantum debeat fides et sapientia christiana vitare, ex ipsa Domini Nostri Jesu Christi institutione cognoscat."§

Et quoniam ubi a civili societate fuit amota religio, ac repudiata divinæ revelationis doctrina et auctoritas, vel ipsa germana justitiæ humanique juris notio tenebris obscuratur et amittitur, atque in veræ justitiæ legitimique juris locum materialis substituitur vis, inde liquet cur nonnulli, certissimis sa-

* Gregor. XVI, Epist. Encycl. *Mirari*, 15 Aug. 1832.
† Eadem Encycl. *Mirari*. ‡ S. Aug., Epist. 105, al. 166.
§ S. Leo Epist. 164, al. 133, § 2 edit. Ball.

næ rationis principiis penitus neglectis posthabitisque, audeant conclamare, "voluntatem populi, publica, quam dicunt, opinione vel alia ratione manifestatam, constituere supremam legem ab omni divino humanoque jure solutam, et in ordine politico facta consummata, eo ipso quod consummata sunt vim juris habere." Verum ecquis non videt, planeque sentit, hominum societatem religionis ac veræ justitiæ vinculis solutam nullum aliud profecto propositum habere posse, nisi scopum comparandi, cumulandique opes, nullamque aliam in suis actionibus legem sequi, nisi indomitam animi cupiditatem inserviendi propriis voluptatibus et commodis? Eapropter hujusmodi homines acerbo sane odio insectantur Religiosas Familias, quamvis de re christiana, civili, ac litteraria summopere meritas, et blaterant, easdem nullam habere legitimam existendi rationem, atque ita hæreticorum commentis plaudunt. Nam, ut sapientissime rec. mem. Pius VI Decessor noster docebat, "regularium abolitio lædit statum publicæ professionis consiliorum evangelicorum, lædit vivendi rationem in Ecclesia commendatam tamquam Apostolicæ doctrinæ consentaneam, lædit ipsos insignes fundatores, quos super altaribus veneramur, qui nonnisi a Deo inspirati eas constituerunt societates."* Atque etiam impie pronunciant, auferendam esse civibus et Ecclesiæ facultatem "qua eleemosynas christianæ caritatis causa palam erogare valeant," ac de medio tollendam legem "qua certis aliquibus diebus opera servilia propter Dei cultum prohibentur," fallacissime prætexentes, commemoratam facultatem et legem optimæ publicæ œconomiæ principiis obsistere. Neque contenti amovere religionem a publica societate, volunt religionem ipsam a privatis etiam arcere familiis. Etenim, funestissimum *Communismi* et *Socialismi* docentes ac profitentes errorem, asserunt "societatem domesticam seu familiam totam suæ existentiæ rationem a jure dumtaxat civili mutuari; proindeque ex lege tantum civili dimanare ac pendere jura omnia parentum in filios, cum primis vero jus institutionis educationisque curandæ." Quibus impiis opinionibus machinationibusque in id præcipue intendunt fallacissimi isti homines, ut salutifera catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrina ac vis a juventutis institutione et educatione prorsus eliminetur, ac teneri flexibilesque juvenum animi perniciosis quibusque erroribus, vitiisque misere inficiantur ac depraventur. Siquidem omnes, qui rem tum sacram, tum publicam perturbare, ac rectum societatis ordinem evertere, et jura omnia divina et humana delere sunt conati, omnia nefaria sua consilia studia et ope-

* Epist. ad Card. De la Rochefoucault, 10 Mart. 1791.

ram in improvidam præsertim juventutem decipiendam ac depravandam, ut supra innuimus, semper contulerunt, omnemque spem in ipsius juventutis corruptela collocarunt. Quocirca nunquam cessant utrumque clerum, ex quo, veluti certissima historiæ monumenta splendide testantur, tot magna in christianam, civilem et litterariam rempublicam commoda redundarunt, quibuscumque infandis modis divexare, et edicere, ipsum Clerum, "utpote vero utilique scientiæ et civilitatis progressui inimicum, ab omni juventutis instituendæ educandæque cura et officio esse amovendum."

At vero alii, instaurantes prava ac toties damnata novatorum commenta, insigni impudentia audent, Ecclesiæ et hujus Apostolicæ Sedis supremam auctoritatem, a Christo Domino ei tributam, civilis auctoritatis arbitrio subjicere, et omnia ejusdem Ecclesiæ et Sedis jura denegare circa ea quæ ad exteriorem ordinem pertinent. Namque ipsos minime pudet affirmare "Ecclesiæ leges non obligare in conscientia, nisi cum promulgantur a civili potestate; acta et decreta Romanorum Pontificum ad religionem et Ecclesiam spectantia indigere sanctione et approbatione, vel minimum assensu potestatis civilis; Constitutiones Apostolicas,* quibus damnantur clandestinæ societates, sive in eis exigatur sive non exigatur juramentum de secreto servando, earumque asseclæ et fautores anathemate mulctantur, nullam habere vim in illis orbis regionibus ubi ejusmodi aggregationes tolerantur a civili Gubernio; excommunicationem a Concilio Tridentino et Romanis Pontificibus latam in eos, qui jura possessionesque Ecclesiæ invadunt, et usurpant, niti confusione ordinis spiritualis ordinisque civilis ac politici ad mundanum dumtaxat bonum prosequendum; Ecclesiam nihil debere decernere, quod obstringere possit fidelium conscientias in ordine ad usum rerum temporalium; Ecclesiæ jus non competere violatores legum suarum pœnis temporalibus coercendi; conforme esse sacræ theologiæ, jurisque publici principiis, bonorum proprietatem, quæ ab Ecclesiis, a Familiis religiosis, aliisque locis piis possidentur, civili Gubernio asserere, et vindicare." Neque erubescunt palam publiceque profiteri hæreticorum effatum et principium, ex quo tot perversæ oriuntur sententiæ atque errores. Dictitant enim "Ecclesiasticam potestatem non esse jure divino distinctam et independentem a potestate civili, neque ejusmodi distinctionem et independentiam servari posse, quin ab Ecclesia invadantur et

* Clement. XII, *In eminenti;* Benedict. XIV, *providas Romanorum;* Pii VII, *Ecclesiam;* Leonis. XII, *Quo graviora.*

usurpentur essentialia jura potestatis civilis." Atque silentio præterire non possumus eorum audaciam, qui sanam non sustinentes doctrinam contendunt "illis Apostolicæ Sedis judiciis et decretis, quorum objectum ad bonum generale Ecclesiæ, ejusdemque jura, ac disciplinam spectare declaratur, dummodo fidei morumque dogmata non attingat, posse assensum et obedientiam detrectari absque peccato, et absque ulla catholicæ professionis jactura." Quod quidem quantopere adversetur catholico dogmati plenæ potestatis Romano Pontifici ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus collatæ universalem pascendi, regendi, et gubernandi Ecclesiam, nemo est qui non clare aperteque videat et intelligat.

In tanta igitur depravatarum opinionum perversitate, Nos Apostolici Nostri officii probe memores, ac de sanctissima nostra religione, de sana doctrina et animarum salute Nobis divinitus commissa, ac de ipsius humanæ societatis bono maxime solliciti, Apostolicam Nostram vocem iterum extollere existimavimus. Itaque omnes et singulas pravas opiniones ac doctrinas, singillatim hisce Litteris commemoratas, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica reprobamus, proscribimus atque damnamus, easque ab omnibus catholicæ Ecclesiæ filiis veluti reprobatas, proscriptas atque damnatas omnino haberi volumus et mandamus.

Ac præter ea, optime scitis, Venerabiles Fratres, hisce temporibus omnis veritatis justitiæque osores, et acerrimos nostræ religionis hostes, per pestiferos libros, libellos et ephemerides toto terrarum orbe dispersas populis illudentes, ac malitiose mentientes, alias impias quasque disseminare doctrinas. Neque ignoratis, hac etiam nostra ætate, nonnullos reperiri, qui, satanæ spiritu permoti et incitati, eo impietatis devenerunt, ut Dominatorem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum negare, ejusque Divinitatem scelerata procacitate oppugnare non paveant. Hic vero haud possumus, quin maximis meritisque laudibus Vos efferamus, Venerabiles Fratres, qui episcopalem vestram vocem contra tantam impietatem omni zelo attollere minime omisistis.

Itaque hisce Nostris Litteris Vos iterum amantissime alloquimur, qui in sollicitudinis Nostræ partem vocati summo Nobis inter maximas Nostras acerbitates solatio, lætitiæ et consolationi estis propter egregiam qua præstatis religionem, pietatem, ac propter mirum illum amorem, fidem et observantiam, qua Nobis et huic Apostolicæ Sedi concordissimis animis obstricti gravissimum episcopale vestrum ministerium strenue ac sedulo implere contenditis. Etenim ab eximio vestro pastorali zelo expectamus, ut assumentes gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, et confortati in gratia Domini Nostri Jesu Christi velitis

ingeminatis studiis quotidie magis prospicere, ut fideles curæ vestræ concrediti "abstineant ab herbis noxiis, quas Jesus Christus non colit, quia non sunt plantatio Patris."* Atque eisdem fidelibus inculcare nunquam desinite, omnem veram felicitatem in homines ex augusta nostra religione, ejusque doctrina et exercitio redundare, ac beatum esse populum, cujus Dominus Deus ejus.† Docete "catholicæ Fidei fundamento regna subsistere,‡ et nihil tam mortiferum, tam præceps ad casum, tam expositum ad omnia pericula, si hoc solum nobis putantes posse sufficere, quod liberum arbitrium, cum nasceremur, accepimus, ultra jam a Domino nihil quæramus, idest, auctoris nostri obliti, ejus potentiam, ut nos ostendamus liberos, abjuremus.§ Atque etiam ne omittatis docere regiam potestatem non ad solum mundi regimen, sed maxime ad Ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam,‖ et nihil esse quod civitatum Principibus et Regibus majori fructui glorieque esse possit, quam si, ut sapientissimus fortissimusque alter Prædecessor Noster S. Felix Zenoni Imperatori perscribebat, Ecclesiam catholicam..... sinant uti legibus suis, nec libertati ejus quemquam permittant obsistere..... Certum est enim, hoc rebus suis esse salutare, ut, cum de causis Dei agatur, juxta ipsius constitutum regiam voluntatem Sacerdotibus Christi studeant subdere, non præferre."¶

Sed si semper, Venerabiles Fratres, nunc potissimum in tantis Ecclesiæ civilisque societatis calamitatibus, in tanta adversariorum contra rem catholicam et hanc Apostolicam Sedem conspiratione, tantaque errorum congerie, necesse omnino est, ut adeamus cum fiducia ad thronum gratiæ, ut misericordiam consequamur, et gratiam inveniamus in auxilio opportuno. Quocirca omnium fidelium pietatem excitare existimavimus, ut una Nobiscum Vobisque clementissimum luminum et misericordiarum Patrem ferventissimis humillimisque precibus sine intermissione orent et obsecrent, et in plenitudine fidei semper confugiant ad Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum, qui redemit nos Deo in sanguine suo, Ejusque dulcissimum Cor flagrantissimæ erga nos caritatis victimam enixe jugiterque exorent, ut amoris sui vinculis omnia ad seipsum trahat, utque omnes homines sanctissimo suo amore inflammati secundum Cor Ejus ambulent digne Deo per omnia placentes, in omni bono opere fructificantes. Cum autem sine dubio gratiores sint Deo homi-

* S. Ignatius M. ad Philadelph., 3. † Psal. 143.
‡ S. Cœlest., epist. 22 ad Synod. Ephes., apud Coust., p. 1200.
§ Innocent I, epist. 29 ad Episc. Conc. Carthag., apud Coust., p. 891.
‖ S. Leo, epist. 156, al. 125.
¶ Pius VII, Epist. Encycl. *Diu satis*, 15 Maii 1800.

num preces, si animis ab omni labe puris ad ipsum accedant, iccirco cœlestes Ecclesiæ thesauros dispensationi Nostræ commissos Christifidelibus Apostolica liberalitate reserare censuimus, ut iidem fideles ad veram pietatem vehementius incensi, ac per Pœnitentiæ Sacramentum a peccatorum maculis expiati fidentius suas preces ad Deum effundant, ejusque misericordiam et gratiam consequantur.

Hisce igitur Litteris auctoritate Nostra Apostolica omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus catholici orbis fidelibus Plenariam Indulgentiam ad instar Jubilæi concedimus intra unius tantum mensis spatium usque ad totum futurum annum 1865 et non ultra, a Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, aliisque legitimis locorum Ordinariis statuendum, eodem prorsus modo et forma, qua ab initio supremi Nostri Pontificatus concessimus per Apostolicas Nostras Litteras in forma Brevis die 20 mensis Novembris anno 1846 datas, et ad universum episcopalem vestrum Ordinem missas, quarum initium "Arcano divinæ Providentiæ consilio," et cum omnibus eisdem facultatibus, quæ per ipsas Litteras a Nobis datæ fuerunt. Volumus tamen, ut ea omnia serventur, quæ in commemoratis Litteris præscripta sunt, et ea excipiantur, quæ excepta esse declaravimus. Atque id concedimus, non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque, etiam speciali et individua mentione ac derogatione dignis. Ut autem omnis dubitatio et difficultas amoveatur, earumdem Litterarum exemplar ad Vos perferri jussimus.

"Rogemus, Venerabiles Fratres, de intimo corde et de tota mente misericordiam Dei, quia et ipse addidit dicens: Misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eis. Petamus et accipiemus, et si accipiendi mora et tarditas fuerit, quoniam graviter offendimus, pulsemus, quia et pulsanti aperietur, si modo pulsent ostium preces, gemitus et lacrimæ nostræ, quibus insistere et immorari oportet, et si sit unanimis oratio.....unusquisque oret Deum non pro se tantum, sed pro omnibus fratribus, sicut Dominus orare nos docuit."* Quo vero facilius Deus Nostris, Vestrisque, et omnium fidelium precibus, votisque annuat, cum omni fiducia deprecatricem apud Eum adhibeamus Immaculatam sanctissimamque Deiparam Virginem Mariam, quæ cunctas hæreses interemit in universo mundo, quæque omnium nostrum amantissima Mater "tota suavis est.....ac plena misericordiæ,.....omnibus sese exorabilem, omnibus clementissimam præbet, omnium necessitates amplissimo quodam miseratur affectu,"† atque utpote Regina adstans a dextris Unigeniti Filii

* S. Cyprian., epist. 11.

† S. Bernard., Serm. de duodecim prærogativis B. M. V. ex verbis Apocalyp.

Sui Domini Nostri Jesu Christi in vestitu deaurato, circumamicta varietate, nihil est, quod ab Eo impetrare non valeat. Suffragia quoque petamus Beatissimi Petri Apostolorum Principis, et Coapostoli ejus Pauli, omniumque Sanctorum Cælitum, qui facti jam amici Dei pervenerunt ad cælestia regna, et coronati possident palmam, ac de sua immortalitate securi, de nostra sunt salute solliciti.

Denique cœlestium omnium donorum copia Vobis a Deo ex animo adprecantes singularis Nostræ in Vos caritatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem ex intimo corde profectam vobis ipsis, Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque Clericis, Laicisque fidelibus curæ vestræ commissis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, die viii Decembris anno 1864, decimo a Dogmatica Definitione Immaculatæ Conceptionis Deiparæ Virginis Mariæ. Pontificatus Nostri anno decimonono.

PIUS PP. IX.

SYLLABUS COMPLECTENS PRÆCIPUOS NOSTRÆ ÆTATIS ERRORES, QUI NOTANTUR IN ALLOCUTIONIBUS CONSISTORIALIBUS, IN ENCYCLICIS ALIISQ. APOSTOLICIS LITTERIS SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII PAPÆ IX.

§ 1. PANTHEISMUS, NATURALISMUS ET RATIONALISMUS ABSOLUTUS.

(1.) Nullum supremum, sapientissimum, providentissimumque Numen divinum existit ab hac rerum universitate distinctum, et Deus idem est ac rerum natura, et iccirco immutationibus obnoxius, Deusque reapse fit in homine et mundo, atque omnia Deus sunt et ipsissimam Dei habent substantiam; ac una eademque res est Deus cum mundo, et proinde spiritus cum materia, necessitas cum libertate, Verum cum falso, bonum cum malo et justum cum injusto.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(2.) Neganda est omnis Dei actio in homines et mundum.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(3.) Humana ratio, nullo prorsus Dei respectu habito, unicus est veri et falsi, boni et mali arbiter, sibi ipsi est lex et naturalibus suis viribus ad hominum ac populorum bonum curandum sufficit.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(4.) Omnes religionis veritates ex nativa humanæ rationis vi derivant; hinc ratio est princeps norma qua homo cognitionem

omnium cujuscumque generis veritatum assequi possit ac debeat.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Epist. Encycl. *Singulari quidem*, 17 Martii 1856.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(5.) Divina revelatio est imperfecta, et iccirco subjecta continuo et indefinito progressui qui humanæ rationis progressioni respondeat.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(6.) Christi fides humanæ refragatur rationi; divinaque revelatio, non solum nihil prodest, verum etiam nocet hominis perfectioni.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(7.) Prophetiæ et miracula, in sacris Litteris exposita et narrata, sunt pœtarum commenta, et christianæ fidei mysteria philosophicarum investigationum summa; et utriusque Testamenti libris mythica continentur inventa, ipseque Jesus Christus est mythica fictio.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

§ II. Rationalismus Moderatus.

(8.) Quum ratio humana ipsi religioni æquiparetur, iccirco theologicæ disciplinæ perinde ac philosophicæ tractandæ sunt.

Alloc. *Singulari quadam perfusi*, 9 Decembris 1854.

(9.) Omnia indiscriminatim dogmata religionis christianæ sunt objectum naturalis scientiæ seu philosophiæ; et humana ratio historice tantum exculta potest ex suis naturalibus viribus et principiis ad veram de omnibus etiam reconditioribus dogmatibus scientiam pervenire, modo hæc dogmata ipsi rationi tamquam objectum proposita fuerint.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Gravissimas*, 11 Decembris 1862.

Epist. ad eumdem *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(10.) Quum aliud sit philosophus, aliud philosophia, ille jus et officium habet se submittendi auctoritati, quam veram ipse probaverit; at philosophia neque potest neque debet ulli sese submittere auctoritati.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Gravissimas*, 11 Decembris 1862.

Epist. ad eumdem *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(11.) Ecclesia non solum non debet in philosophiam unquam animadvertere, verum etiam debet ipsius philosophiæ tolerare errores, eique relinquere ut ipsa se corrigat.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Gravissimas*, 11 Decembris 1862.

(12.) Apostolicæ Sedis romanarumque Congregationum decreta liberum scientiæ progressum impediunt.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(13.) Methodus et principia, quibus antiqui Doctores scholastici theologiam excoluerunt, temporum nostrorum necessitatibus scientiarumque progressui minime congruunt.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(14.) Philosophia tractanda est, nulla supernaturalis revelationis habita ratione.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

N.B.—Cum rationalismi systemate cohærent maximam partem errores Antonii Günther, qui damnantur in Epist. ad Card. Archiep. Coloniensem *Eximiam tuam*, 15 Junii 1847, et in Epist. ad Episc. Wratislaviensem *Dolore haud mediocri*, 30 Aprilis 1860.

§ III. Indifferentismus, Latitudinarismus.

(15.) Liberum cuique homini est eam amplecti ac profiteri religionem, quam rationis lumine quis ductus veram putaverit.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(16.) Homines in cujusvis religionis cultu viam æternæ salutis reperire æternamque salutem assequi possunt.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Ubi primum*, 17 Decembris 1847.

Epist. Encycl. *Singulari quidem*, 17 Martii 1856.

(17.) Saltem bene sperandum est de æterna illorum omnium salute, qui in vera Christi Ecclesia nequaquam versantur.

Alloc. *Singulari quadam*, 9 Decembris 1854.

Epist. Encycl. *Quanto conficiamur*, 17 Augusti 1863.

(18.) Protestantismus non aliud est quam diversa veræ ejusdem christianæ religionis forma, in qua æque ac in Ecclesia catholica Deo placere datum est.

Epist. Encycl. *Noscitis et Nobiscum*, 8 Decembris 1849.

§ IV. Socialismus, Communismus, Societates Clandestinæ, Societates Biblicæ, Societates Clerico-liberales.

Ejusmodi pestes sæpe gravissimisque verborum formulis reprobantur in Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846; in Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, 20 Aprilis 1849; in Epist. Encycl. *Noscitis et Nobiscum*, 8 Decembris 1849; in Alloc. *Singulari quadam*, 9 Decembris 1854; in Epist. Encycl. *Quanto conficiamur mœrore*, 10 Augusti 1863.

§ V. Errores de Ecclesia ejusque Juribus.

(19.) Ecclesia non est vera perfectaque societas plane libera, nec pollet suis propriis et constantibus juribus sibi a divino suo fundatore collatis, sed civilis potestatis est definire quæ sint Ecclesiæ jura ac limites, intra quos eadem jura exercere queat.

Alloc. *Singulari quadam*, 9 Decembris 1854.

Alloc. *Multis gravibusque*, 17 Decembris 1860.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(20.) Ecclesiastica potestas suam auctoritatem exercere non debet absque civilis Gubernii venia et assensu.

Alloc. *Meminit unusquisque*, 30 Septembris 1861.

(21.) Ecclesia non habet potestatem dogmatice definiendi religionem catholicæ Ecclesiæ esse unice veram religionem.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

(22.) Obligatio, qua catholici magistri et scriptores omnino adstringuntur, coarctatur in iis tantum, quæ ab infallibili Ecclesiæ judicio veluti fidei dogmata ab omnibus credenda proponuntur.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(23.) Romani Pontifices et Concilia œcumenica a limitibus suæ potestatis recesserunt, jura Principum usurparunt, atque etiam in rebus fidei et morum definiendis errarunt.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

(24.) Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet, neque potestatem ullam temporalem directam vel indirectam.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(25.) Præter potestatem episcopatui inhærentem, alia est attributa temporalis potestas a civili imperio vel expresse vel tacite concessa, revocanda propterea, cum libuerit, a civili imperio.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(26.) Ecclesia non habet nativum ac legitimum jus acquirendi ac possidendi.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

Epist. Encycl. *Incredibili*, 17 Septembris 1863.

(27.) Sacri Ecclesiæ ministri Romanusque Pontifex ab omni rerum temporalium cura ac dominio sunt omnino excludendi.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(28.) Episcopis, sine Gubernii venia, fas non est vel ipsas Apostolicas Litteras promulgare.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(29.) Gratiæ a Romano Pontifice concessæ existimari debent tamquam irritæ, nisi per Gubernium fuerint imploratæ.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(30.) Ecclesiæ et personarum ecclesiasticarum immunitas a jure civili ortum habuit.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

(31.) Ecclesiasticum forum pro temporalibus clericorum causis sive civilibus sive criminalibus omnino de medio tollendum est, etiam inconsulta et reclamante Apostolica Sede.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(32.) Absque ulla naturalis juris et æquitatis violatione potest abrogari personalis immunitas, qua clerici ab onere subeundæ exercendæque militiæ eximuntur; hanc vero abrogationem postulat civilis progressus, maxime in societate ad formam liberioris regiminis constituta.

Epist. ad Episc. Montisregal. *Singularis Nobisque*, 29 Septembris 1864.

(33.) Non pertinet unice ad ecclesiasticam jurisdictionis potestatem proprio ac nativo jure dirigere theologicarum rerum doctrinam.

Epist. ad Archiep. Frising. *Tuas libenter*, 21 Decembris 1863.

(34.) Doctrina comparantium Romanum Pontificem Principi libero, et agenti in universa Ecclesia, doctrina est quæ medio ævo prævaluit.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(35.) Nihil vetat, alicujus Concilii generalis sententia aut universorum populorum facto, summum Pontificatum ab Romano Episcopo atque urbe ad alium Episcopum aliamque civitatem transferri.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(36.) Nationalis Concilii definitio nullam aliam admittit disputationem, civilisque administratio rem ad hosce terminos exigere potest.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(37.) Institui possunt nationales Ecclesiæ ab auctoritate Romani Pontificis subductæ planeque divisæ.

Alloc. *Multis gravibusque*, 17 Decembris 1860.

Alloc. *Jamdudum cernimus*, 18 Martii 1861.

(38.) Divisioni Ecclesiæ in orientalem atque occidentalem nimia Romanorum Pontificum arbitria contulerunt.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

§ 6. Errores de Societate Civili tum in se, tum in suis ad Ecclesiam Relationibus Spectata.

(39.) Reipublicæ status, utpote omnium jurium origo et fons, jure quodam pollet nullis circumscripto limitibus.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(40.) Catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrina humanæ societatis bono et commodis adversatur.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, 20 Aprilis 1849.

(41.) Civili potestati, vel ab infideli imperante exercitæ, competit potestas indirecta negativa in sacra; eidem proinde competit nedum jus quod vocant *Exequatur*, sed etiam jus *appellationis*, quam nuncupant, *ab abusu*.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(42.) In conflictu legum utriusque potestatis, jus civile prævalet.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(43.) Laica potestas auctoritatem habet rescindendi, declarandi ac faciendi irritas solemnes conventiones (vulgo *Concordata*) super usu jurium ad ecclesiasticam immunitatem pertinentium cum Sede Apostolica initas, sine hujus consensu, immo et ea reclamante.

Alloc. *In Consistoriali*, 1 Novembris 1850.

Alloc. *Multis gravibusque*, 17 Decembris 1860.

(44.) Civilis auctoritas potest se immiscere rebus quæ ad religionem, mores et regimen spirituale pertinent. Hinc potest de instructionibus judicare, quas Ecclesiæ pastores ad conscientiarum normam pro suo munere edunt, quin etiam potest de divinorum sacramentorum administratione et dispositionibus ad ea suscipienda necessariis decernere.

Alloc. *In Consistoriali*, 1 Novembris 1850.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(45.) Totum scholarum publicarum regimen, in quibus juventus christianæ alicujus Reipublicæ instituitur, episcopalibus dumtaxat seminariis aliqua ratione exceptis, potest ac debet attribui auctoritati civili, et ita quidem attribui, ut nullum alii cuicumque auctoritati recognoscatur jus immiscendi se in disciplina scholarum, in regimine studiorum, in graduum collatione, in delectu aut approbatione magistrorum.

Alloc. *In Consistoriali*, 1 Novembris 1850.

Alloc. *Quibus luctuosissimis*, 5 Septembris 1851.

(46.) Immo in ipsis clericorum seminariis methodus studiorum adhibenda civili auctoritati subjicitur.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(47.) Postulat optima civilis societatis ratio, ut populares scholæ, quæ patent omnibus cujusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim Instituta, quæ litteris severioribusque disciplinis tradendis et educationi juventutis curandæ sunt desti-

nata, eximantur ab omni Ecclesiæ auctoritate, moderatrice vi et ingerentia, plenoque civilis ac politicæ auctoritatis arbitrio subjiciantur ad imperantium placita et ad communium ætati opinionum amussim.

Epist. ad Archiep. Friburg. *Quum non sine*, 14 Julii 1864.

(48.) Catholicis viris probari potest ea juventutis instituendæ ratio, quæ sit a catholica fide et ab Ecclesiæ potestate sejuncta, quæque rerum dumtaxat naturalium scientiam ac terrenæ socialis vitæ fines tantummodo vel saltem primario spectet.

Epist. ad Archiep. Friburg. *Quum non sine*, 14 Julii 1864.

(49.) Civilis auctoritas potest impedire quominus sacrorum Antistites et fideles populi cum Romano Pontifice libere ac mutuo communicent.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(50.) Laica auctoritas habet per se jus præsentandi Episcopos, et potest ab illis exigere ut ineant diœcesium procurationem antequam ipsi canonicam a S. Sede institutionem et Apostolicas Litteras accipiant.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(51.) Immo laicum Gubernium habet jus deponendi ab exercitio pastoralis ministerii Episcopos, neque tenetur obedire Romano Pontifici in iis quæ episcopatuum et Episcoporum respiciunt institutionem.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

(52.) Gubernium potest suo jure immutare ætatem ab Ecclesia præscriptam pro religiosa tam mulierum quam virorum professione, omnibusque religiosis familiis indicere, ut neminem sine suo permissu ad solemnia vota nuncupanda admittant.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(53.) Abrogandæ sunt leges quæ ad religiosarum familiarum statum tutandum, earumque jura et officia pertinent, immo potest civile Gubernium iis omnibus auxilium præstare, qui a suscepto religiosæ vitæ instituto deficere ac solemnia vota frangere velint; pariterque potest religiosas easdem familias perinde ac collegiatas ecclesias et beneficia simplicia, etiam juris patronatus, penitus extinguere, illorumque bona et reditus civilis potestatis administrationi et arbitrio subjicere et vindicare.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

Alloc. *Probe memineritis*, 22 Januarii 1855.

Alloc. *Cum sæpe*, 26 Julii 1855.

(54.) Reges et Principes non solum ab Ecclesiæ jurisdictione eximuntur, verum etiam in quæstionibus jurisdictionis dirimendis superiores sunt Ecclesiæ.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

(55.) Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

§ 7. Errores de Ethica Naturali et Christiana.

(56.) Morum leges divina haud egent sanctione, minimeque opus est ut humanæ leges et naturæ jus conformentur, aut obligandi vim a Deo accipiant.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(57.) Philosophicarum rerum morumque scientia, itemque civiles leges possunt et debent divina et ecclesiastica auctoritate declinare.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(58.) Aliæ vires non sunt agnoscendæ nisi illæ quæ in materia positæ sunt, et omnis morum disciplina honestasque collocari debet in cumulandis et augendis quovis modo divitiis ac in voluptatibus explendis.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

Epist. Encycl. *Quanto conficiamur*, 10 Augusti 1863.

(59.) Jus in materiali facto consistit, et omnia hominum officia sunt nomem inane, et omnia humana facta juris vim habent.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(60.) Auctoritas nihil aliud est nisi numeri et materialium virium summa.

Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

(61.) Fortunata facti injustitia nullum juris sanctitati detrimentum affert.

Alloc. *Jamdudum cernimus*, 18 Martii 1861.

(62.) Proclamandum est et observandum principium quod vocant *de non-interventu*.

Alloc. *Novos et ante*, 28 Septembris 1860.

(63.) Legitimis Principibus obedientiam detrectare, immo et rebellare licet.

Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846.

Alloc. *Quisque vestrum*, 2 Octobris 1847.

Epist. Encycl. *Noscitis et Nobiscum*, 8 Decembris 1849.

Litt. Apost. *Cum catholica*, 26 Martii 1860.

(64.) Tum cujusque sanctissimi juramenti violatio, tum quælibet scelesta flagitiosaque actio sempiternæ legi repugnans, non solum haud est improbanda, verum etiam omnino licita, summisque laudibus efferenda, quando id pro patriæ amore agatur.

Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, 20 Aprilis 1849.

§ 8. Errores de Matrimonio Christiano.

(65.) Nulla ratione ferri potest, Christum evexisse matrimonium ad dignitatem sacramenti.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(66.) Matrimonii sacramentum non est nisi quid contractui accessorium ab eoque separabile, ipsumque sacramentum in una tantum nuptiali benedictione situm est.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(67.) Jure naturæ matrimonii vinculum non est indissolubile, et in variis casibus divortium proprie dictum auctoritate civili sanciri potest.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

(68.) Ecclesia non habet potestatem impedimenta matrimonium dirimentia inducendi, sed ea potestas civili auctoritati competit, a qua impedimenta existentia tollenda sunt.

Litt. Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

(69.) Ecclesia sequioribus sæculis dirimentia impedimenta inducere cœpit, non jure proprio, sed illo jure usa, quod a civili potestate mutuata erat.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(70.) Tridentini canones qui anathematis censuram illis inferunt qui facultatem impedimenta dirimentia inducendi Ecclesiæ negare audeant, vel non sunt dogmatici vel de hac mutuata potestate intelligendi sunt.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(71.) Tridentina forma sub infirmitatis pœna non obligat, ubi lex civilis aliam formam præstituat, et velit hac nova forma interveniente matrimonium valere.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(72.) Bonifacius VIII votum castitatis in Ordinatione emissum nuptias nullas reddere primus asseruit.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(73.) Vi contractus mere civilis potest inter christianos constare veri nominis matrimonium; falsumque est, aut contractum matrimonii inter christianos semper esse sacramentum, aut nullum esse contractum, si sacramentum excludatur.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

Lettera di S. S. Pio IX al Rè di Sardegna, 9 Settembre 1852.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

Alloc. *Multis gravibusque*, 17 Decembris 1860.

(74.) Caussæ matrimoniales et sponsalia suapte natura ad forum civilem pertinent.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

N. B.—Huc facere possunt duo alii errores de clericorum cœlibatu abolendo et de statu matrimonii statui virginitatis anteferendo. Confodiuntur, prior in Epist. Encycl. *Qui pluribus*, 9 Novembris 1846, posterior in Litteris Apost. *Multiplices inter*, 10 Junii 1851.

§ 9. Errores de Civili Romani Pontificis Principatu.

(75.) De temporalis regni cum spirituali compatibilitate disputant inter se christianæ et catholicæ Ecclesiæ filii.

Litt. Apost. *Ad Apostolicæ*, 22 Augusti 1851.

(76.) Abrogatio civilis imperii, quo Apostolica Sedes potitur, ad Ecclesiæ libertatem felicitatemque vel maxime conduceret.

Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, 20 Aprilis 1849.

N.B.—Præter hos errores explicite notatos, alii complures implicite reprobantur proposita et asserta doctrina, quam catholici omnes firmissime retinere debeant, de civili Romani Pontificis principatu. Ejusmodi doctrina luculenter traditur in Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, 20 Aprilis 1849; in Alloc. *Si semper antea*, 20 Maii 1850; in Litt. Apost. *Cum catholica Ecclesia*, 26 Martii 1860; in Alloc. *Novos*, 28 Septembris 1860; in Alloc. *Jamdudum*, 18 Martii 1861; in Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, 9 Junii 1862.

§ 10. Errores qui ad Liberalismum Hodiernum Referuntur.

(77.) Ætate hac nostra non amplius expedit, religionem catholicam haberi tamquam unicam Status religionem, cæteris quibuscumque cultibus exclusis.

Alloc. *Nemo vestrum*, 26 Julii 1855.

(78.) Hinc laudabiliter in quibusdam catholici nominis regionibus lege cautum est ut hominibus illuc immigrantibus liceat publicum proprii cujusque cultus exercitium habere.

Alloc. *Acerbissimum*, 27 Septembris 1852.

(79.) Enimvero falsum est, civilem cujusque cultus libertatem, itemque plenam potestatem omnibus attributam quaslibet opiniones cogitationesque palam publiceque manifestandi conducere ad populorum mores animosque facilius corrumpendos ac indifferentismi pestem propagandam.

Alloc. *Nunquam fore*, 15 Decembris 1856.

(80.) Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere.

Alloc. *Jamdudum cernimus*, 18 Martii 1861.

III. The importance of the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican — which was intended to work, and indeed has wrought, a revolution in the Catholic Church by formally exalting its head to the position claimed by it in the Middle Ages, of *Deus in terris* (God upon earth), and at the same time reducing to impotence the bishops and inferior clergy, who had so often held in check the ambition and arrogance of the papacy — is such that a notice of its constitution and action may properly be given here by way of illustration of the ground we have taken in the text.

It had been known for some time that Pius IX., stimulated by his own ambition and vanity, and incited by the counsels of the Jesuits, was disposed to summon an ecumenical, or general, council chiefly for the purpose of proclaiming as a dogma, or matter of necessary acceptance and belief, the doctrine of the personal infallibility of the pope in deciding questions of faith and morals.

It was now three centuries since the last general council (that of Trent) had been held. In the mean time the states of Catholic Europe had all undergone more or less complete, and more or less frequent, revolutions; and there had been many a period in all of them when religious discussion had been comparatively free, and when the claims of Rome to ecclesiastical supremacy had been thoroughly sifted. As a natural consequence, the opinions of the Catholic world had become very generally unsettled. There was among nominal Catholics a widespread falling-off from allegiance to the Church; the civil power of Rome, direct and indirect, had been rudely shaken; she had been stripped of many of her usurpations by the legal action of various governments; she had lost a part of the territory she had so long occupied by virtue of forged donations or forcible conquest; and she was very seriously threatened with the loss of the remainder, including, of course, the last vestige of her temporal power.

Two great measures of relief were proposed: one a humiliation of the Protestant states on the Continent by a military confederation of Catholic states under the hegemony of France; the other an appeal to the prejudices and superstitions of the Catholic world, through an imposing array of moral force in the

form of a universal council, composed of all the episcopate and certain other high functionaries of the Church throughout Christendom.

The knowledge of the purpose of the Jesuits to avail themselves of the imbecility of Pius IX., who, always weak, had now sunk into dotage, to invest the Church with a claim of irresistible power, to be wielded in the name of the papacy, but for the benefit and through the instrumentality of the Society of Jesus, excited great alarm in the sound portion of the Catholic clergy, and both by appeals to public opinion, among which one of the ablest was a warm protest by the Bishop of Orleans in the form of a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese,* and by private remonstrance, the most strenuous efforts were made to avert the threatened danger. But Pius IX. and his most trusted counselors were inflexible. On the 28th of June, 1868, the pope issued a bull summoning all the dignitaries of the Church who were entitled to attend general councils to meet at the Vatican at Rome, on the eighth day of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, "to be begun, continued, and, with the help of the Lord, concluded, for his glory and the salvation of the whole Christian people."

The preamble recapitulates at some length the wrongs the Church had sustained from the oppressions under which she was laboring.

"It is known to all," declares the bull, "by what a horrible tempest the Church is now tossed, and with how many and how great evils civil society is afflicted. Holy Church and her salutary teachings and venerable authority have been assaulted and trodden underfoot by the bitter enemies of God and man; the supreme authority of this Holy See has been attacked and trampled upon; her sacred rights contemned; ecclesiastical property despoiled; the administration of sacred offices has been impeded, and most reverend men devoted to the divine ministry, and excelling in Catholic virtues, have been persecuted in many ways; religious families [monastic houses] have been suppressed; wicked books of every kind, pestilent journals, and

* See Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano," pp. 406, 443.

various pernicious sects, have been everywhere diffused; the education of the unhappy youth has been almost everywhere taken from the clergy, and, what is worse, in not a few places committed to teachers of iniquity and error. Thus, to the great grief of ourself and all good men, and to the deplorable injury of souls, impiety, corruption of morals, unbridled license, the contagion of false opinion of every sort, and of all vice and error, the contempt of law, human and divine, have been propagated to such an extent that not only our most holy religion, but even human society, is miserably disturbed and rent asunder.....

"For these causes, following the venerable footsteps of our illustrious predecessors, we have thought good, as we have long desired, to assemble together our venerable brethren, the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Catholic world, to share in our solicitude.....and with us to consider the present most sad condition of ecclesiastical as well as public affairs, and to communicate to us their valuable counsels in applying remedies to these many calamities."

The bull proceeds to invoke the countenance and aid of all rulers, and especially of Catholic authorities, in promoting the objects of the Council; orders that it be publicly proclaimed in the Roman basilicas, and affixed to their doors, and other usual places. It is subscribed and sealed by the pope and twenty-nine cardinals, and attested by the proper certifying officers.* We may safely presume that other measures besides the public reading and placarding of the bull were employed to bring its purport to the knowledge of those to whom it was addressed; but as the post and public journals are modern and unchristian devices, they are not mentioned, even if employed, as a means of transmitting the bull to the bishops.

It is observable that the bull makes no mention of the papal decree defining the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, nor of the Encyclic and Syllabus of 1864, both of which, as we have already remarked, were pontifical acts, concurred in by many bishops indeed, but not sanctioned by any general council, or

* See Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano," pp. 381–387.

as yet generally accepted or approved by the Catholic world. The recognition, express or implied, by the Council of these acts of supreme power, which were justly regarded as important steps toward the dogma of papal infallibility, was one of the objects which Pius IX. had most at heart in convoking the council at that period.

On the 27th of November, 1868, a bull was promulgated regulating the order of proceeding in the council, which was warmly criticised by many of the clergy, as departing widely from the practice sanctioned by all former assemblies of the sort. But this is a family quarrel, in which we are not called to take part.*

The council was opened on the appointed day with an allocution from the pope, using very hard language against the devil and his accomplices, and expressed much more in his usual style of bitterness than the bull.† It was evident that the death of the pope during the continuance of the council, which might last for years, was a not improbable contingency, and on the day of the assembling of the fathers a bull was issued providing that, in that event, a successor should be elected by the college of cardinals alone, without any participation of the council.‡ The election of Martin V. during the Council of Constance, after two of the three claimants to the papal crown had resigned and the third had been deposed, was indeed nominally made by a few cardinals and bishops, but it was notorious that their decision had been influenced by the council, and the Jesuits thought it expedient to guard against such an assumption of authority in case of the death of Pius IX., well knowing that if an election should be made by the council, the success of a candidate of their nomination would be doubtful.

Among the most important movements of the ultramontane party during the council was the introduction of various declarations of Catholic faith, which were thrown out partly as feelers to try the temper of the council, and partly as commentaries in advance of the final decree. One of these was entitled *De Ecclesia Christi*, laying down twenty-one canons;§ an-

* See Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi," pp. 450–458.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 458–461.
‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 462–465.
§ *Ibid.*, pp. 473–475.

other, *Schema Constitutionis Dogmaticæ Ecclesiæ Christi.** These were followed by the bull *Dei Filius et generis humani Redemptor*,† proclaimed on the 24th of April, 1870, embracing the general Catholic doctrines in twelve canons or propositions respecting the papacy and the Church. This may be regarded as the herald of the dogma of infallibility, which had not yet been formulated, or, at least, not presented to the council for acceptance. It embodies the ultramontane views of the essential character of the Church, and the position and authority of the papacy as its head, and might, in fact, be considered as almost superseding the necessity of the more formal definition of the dogma of the personal infallibility of the pontiff. The bull proclaims dogmatically, *ex hac Petri cathedrâ*, the doctrine of the Church concerning God, the creator of all things; Divine Revelation, which is declared to consist of the Scriptures according to the canon of the Council of Trent, and of the *unwritten traditions* received by the apostles from Christ, or delivered them by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and handed down to our times; concerning Faith; and Faith and Reason. These statements of doctrine are of an argumentative character, and are followed by eighteen canons, distributed under the heads above mentioned; and he that shall not accept any one of them is declared accursed.

The way was now prepared for the crowning measure of the council, the definition of the dogma of the personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff, which was proclaimed by the bull *Pastor Æternus et Episcopus*, dated July 18th, 1870. This bull we give at length as printed in Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano," pp. 514–520. Its four chapters treat of the Institution of the Apostolic Primacy in St. Peter; of the Perpetuity of the Primacy of the Blessed Peter in the Roman Pontiff; of the Power and Reason of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff; and, finally, *of the Infallible Magistracy of the Roman Pontiff*. Of this last chapter we append an English translation.

* See Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi," pp. 475–485.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 504–514.

CONSTITUTIO DOGMATICA PRIMA DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI EDITA IN SESSIONE QUARTA SACROSANTI ŒCUMENICI CONCILII VATICANI.

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI SACRO APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Pastor æternus et episcopus animarum nostrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam ædificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua veluti in domo Dei viventis fideles omnes unius fidei et charitatis vinculo continerentur. Quapropter, priusquam clarificaretur, rogavit Patrem non pro Apostolis tantum, sed et pro eis, qui credituri erant per verbum eorum in ipsum, ut omnes unum essent, sicut ipse Filius et Pater unum sunt. Quemadmodum igitur Apostolos, quos sibi de mundo elegerat, misit, sicut ipse missus erat a Patre; ita in Ecclesia sua Pastores et Doctores usque ad consummationem sæculi esse voluit. Ut vero Episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per cohærentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum Petrum cæteris Apostolis præponens in ipso instituit perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum, super cujus fortitudinem æternum exstrueretur templum, et Ecclasiæ cœlo inferenda sublimitas in hujus fidei firmitate consurgeret.* Et quoniam portæ inferi ad evertendam, si fieri posset, Ecclesiam contra ejus fundamentum divinitus positum majori in dies odio undique insurgunt; Nos ad catholici gregis custodiam, incolumitatem, augmentum, necessarium esse judicamus, sacro approbante Concilio, doctrinam de institutione, perpetuitate, ac natura sacri Apostolici primatus, in quo totius Ecclesiæ vis ac soliditas consistit, cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam, secundum antiquam atque constantem universalis Ecclesiæ fidem, proponere, atque contrarios, dominico gregi adeo perniciosos, errores proscribere et condemnare.

CAPUT I.—*De Apostolici Primatus in Beato Petro Institutione.*

Docemus itaque et declaramus juxta Evangelii testimonia primatum jurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse. Unum enim Simonem, cui jam pridem dixerat: Tu vocaberis Cephas,† postquam ille suam editit confessionem inquiens: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, solemnibus

* S. Leo M., Serm. IV (Al. iii), cap. ii., *in diem natalis sui.*
† Joan, i., 42.

his verbis allocutus est Dominus: Beatus es Simon Barjona, quia caro, et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui in cœlis est: et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum: et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cœlis.* Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Jesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris jurisdictionem in totum suum ovile dicens: Pasce agnos meos: Pasce oves meas.† Huic tam manifestæ sacrarum Scripturarum doctrinæ, ut ab Ecclesia catholica semper intellecta est, aperte opponuntur pravæ eorum sententiæ, qui constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam pervertentes, negant solum Petrum præ ceteris Apostolis, sive seorsum singulis sive omnibus simul, vero proprioque jurisdictionis primatu fuisse a Christo instructum: aut qui affirmant eundem primatum non immediate, directeque ipsi beato Petro, sed Ecclesiæ, et per hanc illi, ut ipsius Ecclesiæ ministro, delatum fuisse.

Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiæ militantis visibile caput; vel eundem honoris tantum; non autem veræ propriæque jurisdictionis primatum ab eodem Domino Nostro Jesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse; anathema sit.

Caput II.—*De Perpetuitate Primatus Beati Petri in Romanis Pontificibus.*

Quod autem in beato Apostolo Petro, princeps pastorum et pastor magnus ovium Dominus Christus Jesus in perpetuam salutem ac perenne bonum Ecclesiæ instituit, id eodem auctore in Ecclesiæ, quæ fundata super petram ad finem sæculorum usque firma stabit, jugiter durare necesse est. Nulli sane dubium, imo sæculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fideique columna, et Ecclesiæ catholicæ fundamentum, a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit: qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, episcopis Sanctæ Romanæ Sedis, ab ipso fundatæ, ejusque consecratæ sanguine, vivit et præsidet et judicium exercet.‡ Unde quicumque in hac Cathedra Petro succedit, is secundum Christi ipsius institutionem primatum Petri in universam Ecclesiam ob-

* Matt. xvi, 16–19. † Joan. xxi, 15–17. ‡ Cf. Ephesini Concilii, act. iii.

tinet. Manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et beatus Petrus in accepta fortitudine petræ perseverans suscepta Ecclesiæ gubernacula non reliquit.* Hac de causa ad Romanam Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse semper fuit omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, ut in ea Sede, e qua venerandæ communionis jura in omnes dimanant, tamquam membra in capite consociata, in unam corporis compagem coalescerent.†

Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione, seu jure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores; aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem; anathema sit.

CAPUT III.—*De Vi et Ratione Primatus Romani Pontificis.*

Quapropter apertis innixi sacrarum litterarum testimoniis, et inhærentes tum Prædecessorum Nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum, tum Conciliorum generalium disertis, perspicuisque decretis, innovamus Œcumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem, qua credendum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus est, Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Ponticem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi et gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis Œcumenicorum Conciliorum et sacris canonibus continetur.

Docemus proinde et declaramus, Ecclesiam Romanam, disponente Domino, super omnes alias ordinariæ potestatis obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis jurisdictionis potestatem, quæ vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse: erga quam cujuscumque ritus et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicæ subordinationis, veræque obedientiæ obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent; ita ut custodita cum Romano Pontifice tam communionis, quam ejusdem fidei professionis unitate, Ecclesiæ Christi sit unus grex

* S. Leo M., Serm. iii (Al. ii), cap. iii.

† S. Iren. Adv. hær., lib. iii, c. iii, et Conc. Aquilei, a 381 inter. epp., S. Ambros., ep. xi.

sub uno summo pastore. Hæc est catholicæ veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare salva fide atque salute nemo potest.

Tantum autem abest, ut hæc Summi Pontificis potestas officiat ordinariæ ac immediatæ illi episcopali jurisdictionis potestati, qua Episcopi, qui positi a Spiritu Sancto in Apostolorum locum successerunt, tamquam veri pastores assignatos sibi greges, singuli singulos, pascunt et regunt, ut eadem a supremo et universali Pastore asseratur, roboretur ac vindicetur, secundum illud sancti Gregorii Magni: Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiæ. Meus honor est fratrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur.*

Porro ex suprema illa Romani Pontificis potestate gubernandi universam Ecclesiam jus eidem esse consequitur, in hujus sui muneris exercitio libere comunicandi cum pastoribus et gregibus totius Ecclesiæ, ut iidem ab ipso in via salutis doceri ac regi possint. Quare damnamus ac reprobamus illorum sententias, qui hanc supremi capitis cum pastoribus et gregibus communicationem licite impediri posse dicunt, aut eandem reddunt sæculari potestati obnoxiam, ita ut contendant, quæ ab Apostolica Sede vel ejus auctoritate ad regimen Ecclesiæ constituuntur, vim ac valorem non habere, nisi potestatis sæcularis placito confirmentur.

Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus jure Romanus Pontifex universæ Ecclesiæ præest, docemus etiam et declaramus, eum esse judicem supremum fidelium,† et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse judicium recurri.‡ Sedis vero Apostolicæ, cujus auctoritate major non est, judicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam de ejus licere judicare judicio.§ Quare a recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab judiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad Œcumenicum Concilium tamquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.

Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem jurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus, quæ ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quæ ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ per totum orbem diffusæ pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem hujus supremæ potestatis; aut hanc

* Ep. ad Eulog. Alexandrin., lib. viii, ep. xxx.

† Pii P. VI, Breve *Super soliditate*, d. 28 Nov. 1786.

‡ Concil. Œcum. Lugdun. II.

§ Ep. Nicolai I, *ad Michælem Imperatorem.*

ejus potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas Ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles, anathema sit.

CAPUT IV.—*De Romani Pontificis Infallibili Magisterio.*

Ipso autem Apostolico primatu, quem Romanus Pontifex, tamquam Petri principis Apostolorum successor, in universam Ecclesiam obtinet, supremam quoque magisterii potestatem comprehendi, hæc Sancta Sedes semper tenuit, perpetuus Ecclesiæ usus comprobat, ipsaque Œcumenica Concilia, ea imprimis, in quibus Oriens cum Occidente in fidei charitatisque unionem conveniebat, declaraverunt. Patres enim Concilii Constantinopolitani quarti majorum vestigiis inhærentes, hanc solemnem ediderunt professionem: Prima salus est, rectæ fidei regulam custodire. Et quia non potest Domini Nostri Jesu Christi prætermitti sententia dicentis: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, hæc, quæ dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservata religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina. Ab hujus ergo fide et doctrina separari minime cupientes, speramus, ut in una communione, quam Sedes Apostolica prædicat, esse mereamur, in qua est integra et vera Christianæ religionis soliditas.* Approbante vero Lugdunensi Concilio secundo, Græci professi sunt: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam Ecclesiam catholicam obtinere, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro Apostolorum principe sive vertice, cujus Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit; et sicut præ cæteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et, si quæ de fide subortæ fuerint quæstiones, suo debent judicio definiri. Florentinum denique Concilium definivit: Pontificem Romanum, verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino Nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.

Huic pastorali muneri ut satisfacerent, Prædecessores Nostri indefessam semper operam dederunt, ut salutaris Christi doctrina apud omnes terræ populos propagaretur, parique cura vigilarunt, ut, ubi recepta esset, sincera et pura conservaretur. Quocirca totius orbis Antistites, nunc singuli, nunc in Synodis

* Ex formula S. Hormisdæ Papæ, prout ab Hadriano II, Patribus Concilii Œcumenici VIII, Constantinopolitani IV, proposita et ab iisdem subscripta est.

congregati, longam Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, et antiquæ regulæ formam sequentes, ea præsertim pericula, quæ in negotiis fidei emergebant, ad hanc Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt, ut ibi potissimum resarcirentur damna fidei, ubi fides non potest sentire defectum.* Romani autem Pontifices, prout temporum et rerum conditio suadebat, nunc convocatis Œcumenicis Conciliis, aut explorata Ecclesiæ per orbem dispersæ sententia, nunc per Synodos particulares, nunc aliis, quæ divina suppeditabat providentia, adhibitis auxiliis, ea tenenda definiverunt, quæ sacris Scripturis et apostolicis Traditionibus consentanea, Deo adjutore, cognoverant. Neque enim Petri successoribus Spiritus Sanctus promissus est, ut eo revelante novam doctrinam patefacerent, sed ut eo assistente traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent. Quorum quidem apostolicam doctrinam omnes venerabiles Patres amplexi et sancti Doctores orthodoxi venerati atque secuti sunt; plenissime scientes, hanc sancti Petri Sedem ab omni semper errore illibatam permanere, secundum Domini Salvatoris Nostri divinam pollicitationem discipulorum suorum principi factam: Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.

Hoc igitur veritatis et fidei numquam deficientis charisma Petro ejusque in hac Cathedra successoribus divinitus collatum est, ut excelso suo munere in omnium salutem fungerentur, ut universus Christi grex per eos ab erroris venenosa esca aversus, cœlestis doctrinæ pabulo nutriretur, ut sublata schismatis occasione Ecclesia tota una conservaretur, atque suo fundamento innixa firma adversus inferi portas consisteret.

At vero cum hac ipsa ætate, qua salutifera Apostolici muneris efficacia vel maxime requiritur, non pauci inveniantur, qui illius auctoritati obtrectant; necessarium omnino esse censemus, prærogativam, quam unigenitus Dei Filius cum summo pastorali officio conjungere dignatus est, solemniter asserere.

Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianæ exordio perceptæ fideliter inhærendo, ad Dei Salvatoris Nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicæ exaltationem, et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus, et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus: Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definite, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promis-

* Cf. S. Bern., epist. cxc.

sam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit; ideoque ejusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiæ irreformabiles esse.

Si quis autem huic Nostræ definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, præsumpserit, anathema sit.

Datum Romæ, in publica Sessione in Vaticana Basilica solemniter celebrata, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die decima octava Julii. Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quinto. *Ita est.*

JOSEPHUS Episcopus S. Hippolyti,
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.

TRANSLATION OF CHAPTER IV. OF THE BULL *PASTOR ÆTERNUS ET EPISCOPUS.*

OF THE INFALLIBLE MAGISTRACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

This Holy See hath always held, the perpetual usage of the Church proves, and the Ecumenical Councils—those especially in which the East and the West met in a union of faith and charity—have declared that:

In the very Apostolic Primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, the chief of the Apostles, holds over the Universal Church, the supreme power of government is embraced.

For the Fathers of the fourth Council of Constantinople, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, proclaimed this solemn declaration: The chief safety is in maintaining the rule of the right faith. And as the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, saying, Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church, can not be passed by, that which was said is proved by the course of events; for the Catholic religion has always been preserved unstained in the Apostolic See, and its holy doctrine has been proclaimed. Not by any means willing, therefore, to depart from its faith and teaching, we hope we may be found worthy to abide in the one communion which the Apostolic See preaches, and in which is the true and entire strength of the Christian religion. And with the approbation of the second Council of Lyons, the Greeks declared: That the Holy Roman Church holds the full and supreme primacy and principality over the Universal Catholic Church, which she truly and

humbly acknowledges to have received, with the plenitude of power, from the Lord himself in the blessed Peter, chief and head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor; and as, above all, she is bound to defend the truth of the faith, if any questions shall arise touching the faith, they ought to be determined by her judgment. And, in fine, the Council of Florence defined: That the Roman pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the Universal Church was conferred upon him in the blessed Peter by our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the fulfillment of this pastoral charge, Our Predecessors have labored unweariedly, that the saving doctrine of Christ may be propagated among all people, and with like care they have watched, that wherever received it should be preserved pure and uncontaminated. Hence the bishops of the whole world, now singly, and now assembled in Synod, following the long-established custom of the churches and the form of the ancient rule, have referred to this Apostolic See the perils which have arisen in matters of faith, in order that injuries to the faith might be reformed where the faith can not be impaired. The Roman pontiffs, according to the state of things and of times—now by assembling Ecumenical Councils; now by inquiring the opinion of the Church distributed through the world; now through particular Synods; now by resorting to other aids which Divine Providence has supplied—have decided that those things ought to be held which, with the Divine help, they have found to agree with the Holy Scriptures and the Apostolic traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that they might make manifest new doctrines revealed by the Spirit, but that, by the aid of the Spirit, they might holily preserve and faithfully expound the revelation delivered to the Apostles, or the deposit of the faith, whose Apostolic teachings all the venerable Fathers and holy Doctors have embraced, venerated, and followed; well knowing this See of Saint Peter remains always untainted with error according to the Divine promise of our Lord and Saviour to the chief of his Apostles: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

Hence this gift of truth and unfailing faith was divinely conferred upon Peter and his successors in this chair, that they might discharge their exalted office for the salvation of all; that the universal flock of Christ might be turned by them from the poisonous bait of error, and fed with the food of heav-

enly doctrine; that, occasion of schism being removed, the whole Church might be preserved in unity, and, resting on its foundations, stand firmly against the gates of hell.

But forasmuch as, in this age, in which the saving efficacy of the Apostolic office is greatly needed, not a few are found who oppose its authority, we think it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the Only begotten Son of God has designed to connect with the chief pastoral office.

Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, to the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian nations, the Sacred Council approving, we teach and define it to be a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks ex cathedrâ, that is, when discharging his office of Shepherd and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine touching faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, through the Divine aid promised him in the Blessed Peter, he acts [pollere] *with that Infallibility wherewith the Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed in defining doctrine touching the faith or morals; and hence definitions of the Roman Pontiff are in themselves, and not by the agreement of the Church, irreformable.*

If any shall presume to contradict this our Definition, which may God forbid, let him be accursed [anathema].

The definition of the dogma is draughted with very little of the logical or rhetorical ability one should have expected. It probably passed through many hands, and in the manipulations it has undergone it seems to have been stripped of any literary merit or theological skill which the original sketch may have possessed.

The announcement of this decree was coolly received by all —met with open hostility by many—right-minded Catholics. Timid assurances were given that at a future session of the council the objectionable features of the definition would be explained away; but it has been finally accepted by so large a proportion of the clergy, that any *retractation* of its terms is hardly probable.

When we say that the dogma of papal infallibility has been *accepted* by a large proportion of the Catholic clergy, we do not mean that it has been accepted by honest and enlightened Catholic priests in any other sense than a lawyer accepts the judgment of a court whose reasoning does not convince him.

"He that complies against his will
Is of his own opinion still."

And such priests do not believe Pius IX. and his predecessors, many of whom have been as imbecile and as malevolent as himself, to have been infallibly inspired a whit more than they believed it before the council.

They have, indeed, been silenced, for they hold that *interest Reipublicæ ut sit finis litium;* and, therefore, though the question was foolishly moved and unfairly decided, it is better to acquiesce than openly to rebel.

In Protestant countries, public attention has not yet been by any means sufficiently drawn to the insidious and dangerous character of the claims set up under the words *et moribus*, "and morals," in the operative clause of the dogma. In Catholic theology, *morals* is a term embracing not merely the decencies of private life, but all questions whatever of right and wrong in the action or opinions of individuals, of rulers, and of nations. Hence the Pope claims plenary and final jurisdiction over every question of public or of private right which the affairs of ordinary life or the ingenuity of casuists can suggest, and accordingly he arrogates to himself the authority of supreme arbiter over every human interest respecting which there can be a conflict of moral judgment. What of life is there left which is exempt from the all-controlling sway of the Roman Pontiff?

The bull *Pastor Æternus* is not the simple decision of a question of Romish dogmatical theology which interests none but Catholics; it is an assertion of a divinely conferred, direct, and supreme authority over all actions, all opinions, all sentiments, which concern the hopes or fears of men whether here or hereafter.

Among the best works in the history of the Vatican Council are: Maret, "Du Concile Général et de la Païx Religieuse;" Janus, "The Pope and the Council;" and Pomponio Leto, "Otto Mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano."

We stated that a religious war was a part of the Jesuit programme, and the late Mr. Louis N. Bonaparte, sometime emperor of the French, or rather the Empress Eugénie—for she was fond of calling the campaign against Germany "MY war"

—commenced unprovoked hostilities against that power* with results which need not be here recited. If Austria and Italy really entertained any *velleités* of taking up arms to support the crusade, the very first battles on the frontier deterred them from such action by revealing such a military incapacity on the part of the French, that the final result was at once foreseen; and the only show of aid that France received in the struggle was the foolish and criminal raid of Garibaldi, who led his tatterdemalions against the forces of the friends of his country, in a Quixotic attempt to sustain a church and a nation which for ten years he had constantly and justly denounced as the worst enemies of Italy.

IV. The elevation of St. Alfonso de' Liguori to the rank of a doctor of the Church. On this subject we refer to what has been said in the text.

V. The dedication of the Universal Church to the cultus of the Sacred Heart.

On the 13th of June the following article appeared in the *Unità Cattolica* of Rome, the leading authority in ecclesiastical journalism:

"We have already spoken of the innumerable petitions which have been received by the Holy Father since July, 1870, beseeching him to deign to consecrate the Catholic world to the most Sacred Heart of Jesus; petitions from millions of the faithful, from thousands of the clergy, and from no fewer than seven hundred of the bishops..... These petitions were not forgotten. His Holiness, says the above-mentioned decree, reflecting before God upon the gravity of the case, gave them to the Sacred Congregation of Rites for examination, and, finally, after having conceded the partial consecration of the dioceses to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, authorized the general consecration of all the Catholics of the world at one time."

The following announcement had been made in the *Unità Cattolica* on the 1st of June:

* The proclamation of the bull defining the dogma of the papal infallibility was made on the 8th of July, 1870. War was declared by France against Germany a week later. The near coincidence of these events in time was not an accident. The moral blow by Pius IX. was the preconcerted signal for the material blow to be given by France.

"It is not, therefore, marvelous that this devotion, from Catholic France, where it had its origin, has been propagated and diffused in Italy, in all Europe, and throughout the entire world, and that to-day bishops and faithful of all nations have turned to the sacred Apostolic See, confidently expressing their desire—namely, that there is *no other remedy against the many evils by which the human family is afflicted than to consecrate it wholly to the Holiest Heart of Jesus.* For which reason, the Holy Father, in the desire to satisfy in some manner the common desire, has deigned, by decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, dated the 22d of April, to approve the formula of consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, exhorting all the faithful throughout the Catholic world to recite the same, either in congregation or in private, on the 16th of this current June, the thirtieth anniversary of his assumption of the Supreme Pontificate, and second centenary of the revelation made by the Divine Redeemer to the blessed Marguerite, to propagate the devotion to His Sacred Heart."

VI. The *Bolla di Composizione:* this bull is said to have been first issued in 1865, and it is renewed every year. It is authenticated by the Episcopal seal, and bears the signatures of the Ordinary and the Pope. It is affixed to the doors of the churches and, to use the words of an Italian journalist, "The people consider it as a species of amulet or talisman, and will make any sacrifice to procure a copy of it. Among the dwellings of the poorer classes in Sicily, you can scarcely find a house in which this bull is not preserved, and regarded as a sacred object."

The form is as follows:

The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.	1866. SUMMARY OF THE BULL OF COMPOSITION.	Arms of the Supreme Pontiff.

For those who ought to restore the Goods of Uncertain Owners, granted of the Holiness of Our Lord Pius IX., Supreme Pontiff, for the Year eighteen hundred and sixty-six.

The instrument goes on to fix the price to be paid proportionally to the amount of property unlawfully acquired, and specifies eighteen cases to which it is applicable: 1. Illicit gains gen-

erally; 2. Improper receipt of ecclesiastical rents and dues; 3. Retaining legacies unjustly; 4. Receiving bribes for unjustly deciding or delaying lawsuits; 5. Wrongfully defending a cause; 6. False testimony; 7. Receiving bribes for illegal official acts; 8. Receiving gifts for proper judicial decisions; 9. Exaction of illegal fees; 10. Receiving bribes for favoring escape of criminals; 11. Cheating in gambling; 12. Obtaining money by false pretenses; 13. Non-restitution of objects found; 14. Retention of property of others; 15. Damage to property by trespass; 16. Gains of lewd women; 17. Adulterations and false weights and measures; 18. Usury and cheating generally.

It is superfluous to enlarge on the effects of the papal indorsement of the morality and the indecencies of De' Liguori and the follies of the Sacred Heart, as upon the inevitable corruption of an ignorant and viciously disposed people by such proceedings as are authorized by the *Bolla di Composizione.* The total want of all security for life and property in Sicily, which hardly dates further back than the issuing of this bull in 1865, is, with great probability, ascribed by many competent judges more to the *Bolla di Composizione* than to any other one cause.

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